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NEW ASIA

An Organ of Oriental Culture and Thought.

39

JANUARY, 1940.

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NEW ASIA

Vol. II. JANUARY—MARCH, 1940 No. 1.

EDITORIAL

Wishing our friends and colleagues a Happy New Year, we realize nevertheless painfully the fact that the year may be new but it does not necessarily bring happiness. A major war surprising Europe within 25 years of the termination of the last World War does not leave much scope for hopeful thoughts. Several nations of Central Europe have already lost their independence owing to the German offensive and now Soviet Russia which has already dominated over the minor Baltic States, is threatening Norway and Sweden by its ruthless attack on Finland. These are ominous indications specially in view of the fact that the Russo-German steam-roller may be directed towards pulverizing the Balkan states in order to prepare a smooth road to the Orient.

Is there any chance of the extension of the conflagration from Europe to Asia ? We hope that it would not extend ; but it is not permissible or advisable either to build our future on mere hopes. Let us recall to our mind the Berlin-Baghdad dream of Germany. Let us remember also that the Soviet Union extends over the two continents of Europe and Asia and therefore the Soviet may find it convenient to divide her diplomacy between the East and the West, dealing strongly with the one and gently with the other, according to her sweet will and shrewd policy based naturally on pure opportunism which seems to be the key-note of Stalin's diplomacy. Whatever idealism was attributed by enthusiasts to the Stalin regime has been falsified by facts ; for we cannot doubt that Russia has divided Poland with Germany bringing at the same time the whole Baltic region under her domination. The

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Russian move in the Far East is no less ominous : in order to cripple Japan, her only rival there, the Soviet has taken from China the virtual control of Outer Mongolia with an area of 1,422, 625 sq. kilometers and also the vast Chinese province of Sinking of over 1,870,000 sq, kilometers to form a second Outer Mongolia. With that enormous base the Soviet may play a dangerous role in the Far East, although she is keeping a fairly non-committal attitude toward Japan for the present.

But is the Middle East safe from Soviet machinations ? We do not think so ; for we find vague but none-the-less significant speculations regarding the possibility of Soviet penetration of Iran and Afghanistan, the only two independent states intervening between India and Russia. India is the biggest stake in the game and in this strategic issue the British and the Indian leaders may very profitably collaborate and the sooner they do so is the better for both parties. After a deadlock of several months the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi are again exploring the possibility of organised co-operation. The British Government should not miss this capital opportunity and should guarantee the good-will of India by granting Dominion Status within the minimum time limit. That would engender confidence and enthusiasm without which no constitution, however perfect, would work, With the substance of self-government coming to them the Indians may open a new chapter in the history of the British Commonwealth of Nations. A contented and self-governing India, inspite of communal and other incidental problems, will be the greatest asset to the cause of Democracy and World Order for which the Allies are fighting.

Britain and France, offering to justify Democracy in India and Indo-China, would naturally draw the sympathetic co-operation of the U. S. A., the biggest democracy in the New World. With American support the British and the French may again build up the ruined fabrics of civilisation and India, with more than 350 million souls, would be solidly behind that noble enterprise in this crisis of human history.

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The American University of Beirut

By President Bayard Dodge.

In 1860 some serious massacres took place in the southern part of the Ottoman Empire. As a result of the political reorganization which followed, Lebanon was turned into an autonomous province. By "Lebanon" is meant a range of mountains, which follow the old Phœnician seacoast for over a hundred miles, from the Palestine frontier to the north of Tripoli.

In order to educate men who could take part in the public and commercial life of this new Arab state, a small college was started at Beirut, which is the seacoast of the Lebanon. The institution was opened in 1866 with only sixteen students in a rented house. The next year a small medical school was also started.

About this same time Egypt began a new chapter in her history. The building of the Suez Canal and the administration of Lord Cromer made the land wealthy and progressive.

There was such a demand for the graduates of the new college and medical school to serve in both Lebanon and Egypt, that the institution grew rapidly. A beautiful piece of property was purchased on the point to the west of Beirut and one after the other large buildings were erected.

Before long the new colony of the Sudan, as well as Anatolia, Cilicia, Syria and Palestine demanded university-trained men. There was a special need for doctors and pharmacists. Many of the Beirut graduates rendered distinguished service and became leaders of their communities.

During the World War, the institution remained open, in spite of the fact that over three hundred thousand people died of starvation in the Lebanon and Beirut was cut off from the outside world by blockade.

After the Armistice a number of new states were established in the sections of the Ottoman Empire which were separated from Turkey. There was a tremendous demand for young men and women who knew Arabic and were able to fill posts of responsibility. The most urgent demand was for teachers, doctors, dispensers, nurses, office

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workers and engineers to work in Palestine, Iraq, Trans-Jordan and the Sudan.

In order to meet this situation, the old College was reorganized as the American University of Beirut. Girls were admitted to the higher classes and with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, the academic work was greatly strengthened.

The Near East Foundation started the Institute of Rural Life, which carries on extension work in rural districts and has helped the authorities of the University to establish a course to teach the sons of landowners how to manage their family estates.

With the help of the *Ecole Normale de Musique de Paris*, an Institute of Music was started, which is attempting to train music teachers to interest people of the country in classic music.

In 1936 International College moved from Izmir to Beirut and became merged into the University, assuming responsibility for elementary and secondary school work.

The Elementary School provides primary education in Arabic and serves as a laboratory for training teachers. The secondary school is in two sections. A student from the territories under French Mandate may follow a *lycée* course, which uses French as the principal language, but also gives instruction in Oriental languages. It prepares a student for either the French or Lebanese *baccalauréat* examinations.

Side by side with this *lycée* programme is a course which prepares for the Oxford-Cambridge School Certificate, or its equivalent. Although English is naturally the principal language, Arabic, Iranian and French are also taught and there are special classes in Hebrew and Armenian.

In the University proper there is a three-year course in Arts and Sciences, a four-year course in Pharmacy, a six-year course in Medicine, and a three-year course in Nursing. The School of Arts and Sciences includes work in pedagogy, engineering, finance, and industrial chemistry, in addition to the standard courses, which such a school should naturally offer.

The University is conducted by a Board of twelve trustees, who are prominent citizens in New York City. The diplomas are sanctioned by the University of the State of New York, so that they have international recognition. On the other hand, the University has no connection with any government and has never received subsidies from either Washington or New York State.

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During the past seventy years, the trustees have collected an endowment fund of about a million and a quarter pounds sterling. The University is supported by the income from this fund and the fees which are paid at Beirut. Gifts for special purposes are often made by graduates in the Near East, and friends in America.

The School of Medicine conducts a 182-bed hospital, which is private and used for teaching purposes. There is also a large poly-clinic and there are urban and rural health centres to train the young doctors and nurses how to carry on preventive work. During the academic year 1938-1939, there were 3593 patients in the Hospital and 36,289 calls were made at the Clinics.

The University occupies 80 acres, bordering on the Mediterranean for three quarters of a mile. There are over forty buildings, many of which are large. As the grounds irrigated, there are trees and gardens everywhere. There are three sports fields and many tennis courts. Swimming in the Mediterranean and skiing on the Lebanon Mountains provide especially attractive opportunities for out-of-door exercise.

During the academic year 1938-1939, the distribution of students was as follow:—

University proper		
Arts and Sciences	267	
Pharmacy and Dentistry	76	
Medicine	117	
Nursing	68	
Music	83	611
International College		
Lycée course	400	
Matriculation and International Courses	692	
Elementary School	235	1327
		1938

The students come from over forty countries, most of which are states of the Near East. On the other hand, a few students find their way to Beirut from India, the Federated Malay States, Europe and the American Republics.

As Beirut is a healthy and inexpensive place, it is especially profitable for an oriental student to spend a few years there, before going on to more expensive graduate-study in a European university.

During the academic year, the tuition, board and lodging fees cost about £65. Books, laundry and pocket money need not

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exceed more than £16 extra. In the schools of Medicine and Pharmacy, there are supplementary charges for laboratory meterial, which average about £ 15 a year extra.

Although the members of the faculty are anxious that the students should have a thoughtful and reverent attitude about spiritual things, there is no attempt to proselytize or to force religion upon the undergraduates. There are very informal chapel services, but the students are free to attend alternative exercises, which are entirely non-religious, if they do not wish to go to chapel.

During the year 1938-1939 there were 82 members of the staff of professorial standing, 121 teachers and supervisors on temporary appointments, and 79 assistants, secretaries and technicians. They represented 14 nationalities and 11 major religious sects. Only 55 of them came from Canada and the United States.

Many of the teachers are Muslim, Druze, Baha'i, Jewish, as well as Christian. The Christians are Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant. Teachers of the same rank receive similar salaries, regardless of nationality or creed. Occidental and Oriental teachers serve together on committees. Even the small University Council, which handles the confidential business of the institution, is sure to have professors of a number of different sects and nationalities as regular voting members. A delightfully free social life is also enjoyed by the families of the teachers.

During this war period, when people are pessimistic about the possibility of having a democratic organization among the different races and sects of the world, it is encouraging to witness the way in which racial and sectarian differences have been overcome at Beirut.

An increasingly large amount of research is being carried on by the institution. The young teachers and students help their professors to conduct original studies in the natural and medical sciences, rural improvement and the social sciences, Oriental language studies, the historical records of the Near East, and educational problems of the day.

The purpose of the University is to end the bigotry which has kept the Near East in a state of unrest for centuries, to train men and women for honest citizenship in their own countries, to teach them how to solve their problems by scientific methods rather than by emotionalism, and to fill them with a vital consciousness of things spiritual during this period of adjustment and renaissance.

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"Made in Japan"

By Ramendu Dutta,

Author and Publicity Consultant.

I have chosen as my caption, a phrase which is rather too familiar in India. It stands for all that is cheap, and consequently economical and within the easy reach of all classes of a people none-too-solvent as a mass.

Shiny and neat, a little flimsy but unbelievbly cheap, of variety infinite, from a trinket to an automobile.....that is what is labelled "Made in Japan."

The small clerk with a large family carries home, under covering when it is a question of boycott, and in a flamboyant spirit when conditions are more favourable, lots of linen, toys and trinkets, things of daily need,..... carries them days in and days out, into the little circle of his large family!

The aspirations of the fashionable young man, with a limited purse or a calculative brain, very often boils down to a silken linen, kerchief or socks "Made in Japan."

To the average poor-middle-class Indian, it sounds like a boon when he hears a "Yes" to his suppressed query: "...got one made in Japan... ?

To even many a rich father, when shopping for his "kids" means in terms of tens or twelves, -the nodding deer, the moving aeroplane, the tumbling clown, the firing tank, the celluloid beauty in Hawaiian costume..... are all chosen and brought without a quiver, and they are invariably all "Made in Japan."

Then came this War. Reasons purely economical will compel us Indians now to patronise a trade which in times of peace was a national necessity, and now will be moreover a mutual advantage. When I say this I remember our Indian cotton. The foreign market to our West is gone, so long as the war lasts, leave alone the questions of risk and enhanced freights. Our neighbour in the near East, in this hour of need may prove to be a friend in-deed!

Made in England or Made in U. S. A. and Made in France are terms no doubt to the discriminate buyer and the fashionable few who

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affords, but to the mass of our countrymen those are like the glares of "Metro," the dazzling neon signs over The Firpo's or the "Grand," the the hall mark of "Hall & Anderson".....monopolies of the "Burra-sahibs" or the Aristocracy.

The more the friendly relations increased between India and Japan, the greater will the benefit be to our motherland. Trade relations will bring along economic changes at this critical hour when the Western gates are shut, and India need a helper in her political and material aspirations. Japan can play this role of a friend in need with her industrialist populace, with her better equipped scientific resources, with her more improved technical knowledge, and her business magnets who ply a world-wide trade.

As Burma may find it easy on the face of the fact that the one-million *koku* of Burmese rice which cannot be sent to Germany today, may be sent to Japan instead, if the Burma-Nippon pact is renewed at the beginning of April of this year, - so can the future of India's raw cotton be also assured if something good sifts out of the Delhi Trade Talks.

There can be no doubt that we have much to learn from our neighbour of the Far East, the independent Japan, who has within a very short span worked wonders in the realm of Industry, Politics, Science, Economics, material prosperity and advanced civilization.

There is no doubt that our country is rich in raw materials, plentiful in resources for industry and manufacture, wealthy in minerals yet unextracted and cheap of labour. The lack of discipline, unity, wakefulness, energy and initiative are only a few of the deterrent factors to our country's progress.

India is, therefore, exploited to the entire benefit of outsiders today, and to save her from this, the sons of the soil will have to exert. Only the strong can exert themselves and win. We have to be strong therefore, strong economically, industrially, politically—and let us study how *this* was "Made in Japan." Our life and existence today have become symbolised with the popular meaning of the expression I have used as the heading of my article, and we can safely be said to be leading a "made in Japan"—life .....but we have yet to strive to attain the *success of Japan* as it has been "*made in Japan.*"

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Prehistoric Studies in India

New Discoveries and Need of Explorations

By Dharanidhar Sen M.A.

Extensive field-studies, opened by the Yale-Cambridge India Expedition, have led to new discoveries and have laid a scientific foundation envisaging great possibilities for further researches in prehistoric *lithic* cultures, particularly of Stone Age of northern India, and of India as a whole, of which yet so little is known. The ancient valleys of the Sind, the Punjab, those of the Kashmir and Poonch states reveal evidences of Stone Age cultures. The north-west Punjab has been particularly fruitful in the search for the trail of Early Man in north India. A series of *lithic* industries, from the earliest stone age to the close of the upper palæolithic, datable with the pleistocene *glacial cycle* in the Himalayas, illustrates how the ancient valleys of the north-west Punjab were occupied by stone-age folks for a considerable time. Thus the old conception that the history of the southern India alone goes back to the earliest stone age is now gone and we see the stone age in its beginning flourishing as far north as the Himalayan foothills. We do not yet know whether or not it is the work of the same race or races, until the more convincing proof of the fossil man is obtained. For this reason, if not for any other, a more sweeping spade-work should have to be attempted to trace the race or races who presumably occupied the prehistoric settlements in ancient valleys and to reopen, in a new light, the remote past of unchronicled ages.

The writer, in a recent excursion to the Punjab for collecting palaeolithic materials, revisited the "Soan culture" sites on the valley of the Soan river which was a mightier river in early prehistoric times. He was able to collect from different sites more than a couple of hundred stone implements including some new types that were made by the "Soan palaeolithic" people. So far, in the most unfortunate absence of human fossils, the discovery of their cultures go a good deal to the reconstruction of the history of human kind of the unchronicled past of India. A glimpse of mammal life (other than of primates) to some extent contemporaneous of Early Man, however, may be

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obtained from the fossil mammals that have been found in the late cainozoic beds in the north-west Punjab as well as in the middle pleistocene beds in Central India. The early stone-age folks in the Punjab certainly preferred open *terraces* to any other habitations since their artefacts mostly come from sites which are so situated. These terraces have been of great help in geological correlations to their proper dating specially with respect to the *glacial* and *interglacial* phases of the Ice Age in the Himalayas. The lithic culture series in the *Soan* comprises several industries starting with pebble-tools, and handaxes, cleavers etc., then flake tools and a few cores that recall the *clacton* and *levallois*[1] of Europe and then the *late Soan* tools that are reminescent of the Upper palaeolithic types. The typology of the Soan culture is, however, very tentative since explorations are not yet complete and the typology not fully studied.[2] It seems, however, that the makers of these tools were bound to the valleys for a long time and introduced characteristic tool-techniques in course of their devolopment.

If the Punjab has been fruitful in her rich yield of lithic cultures and of fossils, the adjacent states of Jammu and Poonch reveal no less possibilities. Backed by higher mountains lie habitable valleys where early types of tools have been recovered. It seems that some of the tools bear a family relationship with those found in the Punjab. It is significant that both the Jammu and the Punjab Siwalik hills as is well-known have yielded, among others, the *Dryopithecus* and the *Sivapithecus*—the higher anthropoids that approach the side of man in some of their dental characters. The proto-human form in course of evolution may have lived "somewhere" in these countries.[3] The three adjacent countries suffered the same fate of physical and climatic catastrophies producing factors which might have hastened the pulsations of evolution.

The next land under review in the light of recent discoveries is the beautiful vale of Srinagar with its roundabouts in Kashmir which has also entombed rich prehistoric treasures. The *Karewas*[4] in the Jhelum

1. By these terms we understand particular tool-techniques.

2. The final volume of the publication of the Yale-Expedition has not yet reached India.

3. According to De Terra and Teilhard, ultimate emergence of protohuman types may be expected in tropical southern Asia.

4. A *Kashmiri* term which means mound or platform composed of fine silty and gravelly clay.

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valley, the valleys of the Sind and the Liddar have revealed cultures of prehistoric dates. The Sind valley in Kashmir, for example, thanks to the researches of Mr. T. Paterson of Cambridge, with whom I examined some of the sites, has yielded, among others, interesting *midden*[1] industries represented by a very primitive type of hand-made pottery and artefacts. A *megalithic* site at Burzahum near Srinagar has revealed, in a trial trench, under the *megalithic* monuments[2], a similar culure. Besides, hand-made pottery with grass-mat designs, a number of polished celts, stone-knives and a few roughly made bonetools have been discovered. Should the Kashmir Government undertake a complete excavation of the site, it is sure to yield results of far-reaching importance. Form the types of pottery, it is thought that the Burzahum culture may have some connections with the earliest culture strata of Mohen-jo-daro in Sind. Though one need to be very cautious in correlating such distant cultures, it would not be surprising, should further excavation be undertaken, to trace and reopen, a *continuity* if any, of cultures in space.

That northern India has a culture antiquity dating from a Stone Age is now beyond doubt as is evident from the rich corpus of *lithic* industries found in the Punjab, Poonch, Kashmir, Jammu and elsewhere. But it must, however, be admitted that in the north, as in the south, there are hiatus in culture continuity which should have yet to be bridged. Further researches along this line envisage far-reaching results. Pre-chalcolithic cultures in Sind and in Kashmir are now anticipated. Recent scraping in Rorhi and Sukkur near Mohen-jo-daro have revealed new materials which are supposed to be earlier (*proto-neolithic*) than the so-called Mohen-jo-daro civilisation. No correlation has yet been attempted between the prehistoric and the historic, anywhere in India.

For a more vivid picture of the Stone Age in India, the south east-coast of India comes to the foreground. But unfortunately except Mr. Bruce Foote and Dr. King (whose researches are now antiquated in the light of recent discoveries and their interpretations) and a few other workers,[3] specially Dr. H. de Terra and Mr. T. Paterson, nothing

1. Prehistoric dust-bins or kitchen refuse.
2. Usually burial monuments of stone.
3. Mr. Burkit of the Cambridge University has interpreted a portion of the palaeolithic implements in the south Indian collections. Dr. H. de Terra and Mr. T. T. Paterson have also jointly studied the stratigraphy and typology of Madras tools.

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in the nature of a systematic and scientific archaolological survey has been attempted. The low-level detrital *laterites* particularly in the east-coast of south India specially in the presidency of Madras are practically studded with artefacts and hold the key for the dating of the latter. Since 1936, some useful work has been done near Attirampakham in Madras, which shows *in situ* and in datable geological deposits, a rich series of palæolithic cultures, broadly characterised, by core, handaxe and cleaver industries, and flake and blade industries. South India is held by prehistorians of international reputations to be a likely source of the hand-axe culture of the world. It is also thought, though not yet conclusively proved, that stone age cultures of the south spread to the north as far as the Himalayan foot-hills. A need for a comprehensive and systematic survey of this region which is a classic ground for the study of Stone Age cultures in India can not be over emphasised. The need of reexamining the vast collections heaped in the Indian Museum is also utterly felt.[1]

In Bombay, Mr. Todd, of the Royal Indian Marine, has found, it seems, a series of *flake* industries, which recall the *clacton* and which pass into a blade and burin industry. The microlithic industries in Bombay according to him is B. C. in date (elsewhere they are supposed to be mesolithic) or most surprisingly as in some cases historically recent (lumped in an A. D. *milieu*). Researches on the microliths in India may throw light on the culture continuity *complex* in prehistoric times. The coastal sites in Bombay which may range from middle palaeolithic to a full microlithic offer in this respect a most tempting field.[2]

The upper Gangetic valleys, parts of Behar and Orissa and the Narbada valley have now and then yielded evidences of Stone Age cultures. Mr. Anderson obtained a series of *neolithic* artefacts in the Singbhum district in Behar. Recently Prof. Fearnsides of Sheffield, who came to India in connection with a session of the Indian Science Congress, found a beautiful implement (a handaxe somewhat of *acheulian* design) near Chaibasa in Singbhum. A fine specimen of a handaxe of quartzite rock has been found in Monghyr by Mr. S. Tagore

1. The University of Calcutta has, in co-operarion with the Archaeology Department, just attempted to classify, catalogue and prepare a handy guide-book for the prehistoric collections in the Indian Museum.

2. The information not yet published is kindly given to me by Mr. T. Todd in a letter.

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of Santiniketan. Very recently Mr. N. K. Bose of the Calcutta University and myself have found, at Chakradharpore, what seems to us typologically, a *neolithic* site, from where we collected more than two hundred celts and a few chisels These finds, though as such isolated, give however a clue that, should they be further explored, they may lead to the discovery of their sources. Recently a rich series of palaeolithic artefacts have come to light in Mayurbhanj, not far from Singbhum, from the *lateritic* deposits at Kuliana near Baripada. Geological dating of the laterites and typological studies are now being taken up by the Calcutta University.

In the Narbada valley, implementiferous beds have been found in association with rich mammal fossils which are now entirely extinct. The Narbada valley sites have been palaeontologically dated and have also been culturally correlated with those of the Soan valley. The Narbada valley has been also generally correlated with the south as with the north. Further, the great prehistoric mammal—the *Elephas Namadicus*[1], first found in the Narbada, has also been found near Srinagar on the Jhelum. This may also open up palaeontological, if not cultural, connections between such long distant sites as the Narbada in central India and the Jhelum in northern India. These important finds may indeed be helpful, specially in the absence of contemporary human fossils, to establish useful correlation studies with far-off countries.[2]

We have seen the results of preliminary survey works by foreign expeditions to India, results of individual investigations by foreign as well as Indian scholars, enterprises of private individuals, results of chance discoveries and so on, and, in every case, we have always found some new material. But except in the first two cases, though we may have excellent materials, the work has not been, unfortunately, scientific, which resulted to many misleading data. What is lacking at this stage is a co-ordination of research activities.[3] The

1. A species of ancient elephant now extinct.

2. This have been recently attempted on a wider scale. Java, China and India have been roughly correlated both culturally and palaeontologically.

3. A copy of Nature (Vol. 144, No. 3652, Oct. 28, 1939), in the editorial, discussing the Anthrological Studies in India, says that neither the Government nor the educational authorities have given any encouragement to the Anthropological Studies in India. It emphasises on the need of more complete co-operation between Universities and the Archaeological Department of India. In another article, the paper calls for the urgency of a sound foundation of an Indian School of Archaeology.

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present need, however, would be to sponsor Indian expeditions, to stimulate prehistoric research by calling and mobilising trained Indian workers, by raising necessary funds and to start work and establish co-ordinations. Prehistoric research in Europe has made great strides. As a result, prehistoric studies have assumed a completely new *orientation*. "Archaeological Exploration is not very expensive work," says an eminent archaeologist. "It is a sound investment for a great nation." The need of research in human prehistory in India cannot indeed be over emphasised. Should such explorations in prehistory be undertaken, this would not only rejuvinate prehistoric studies in India and work out great problems, but also, indeed, would lead to the solution of many world problems in prehistory. Like all sciences, researches in this subject have assumed international significance.

Calcutta,
November 1939.

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Nemesis.

By Sita Devi B. A.

The scene opens in a small townlet, very near to Calcutta. You can call it a large village and get away with it. There were wide fields, bamboo groves and tanks full of green slimy water. But there were good roads, electric lights and large chimneys as well.

There were some old brick-built buildings, some houses roofed with corrugated iron and a large number of mud hovels. The older generation were orthodox, but the younger one hankered after modernism in everything. But there was no open revolt against orthodoxy as most of the young people still depended on the old fogies for their daily bread.

The Mukherjees were celeberating the home-coming of the bride of their eldest son. It was the evening of a rainy July, and the house had no electric lights. Only two or three rich people could afford electricity in their house, and the Mookherjees did not belong to this class. They had only one brick-built room in the house, so how was the use of electric lights possible ?

Some bright acetylene lamps were burning in front of the house. Within, half a dozen hurricane-lamps coped with the fast increasing darkness as best as they could. The bride was sitting in the best room, and the female guests surrounded her. For the accommodation of the gentlemen, a large pandal had been erected in front of the house, chairs and tables had been requisitioned from Calcutta, as people could not be asked to sit on mats spread on the ground in this terribly damp weather. Besides, the bride's relatives were coming. They were all Calcutta people, and the Mookherjees had to keep up appearances before them, as they had paid a large dowry with their girl.

The new bride sat on a small carpet, in the centre of the room, leaning against a big bolster. Some girls sat round her. One was fanning her, another talked to her. The second was the bride's cousin and had come here on invitation.

The house was decorated with flowers, leaves and festoons of coloured paper. The air was heavy with fragrance. On the walls,

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four lamps were suspended and from the roof above hung a heavy chandelier, relic of a bygone age.

The guests were slowly arriving, some came walking, and some came in hackney carriages. On the road two private cars and a couple of taxis could be seen waiting.

A hackney carriage approached the house, rumbling and spattering mud. The door was opened and a fat old gentleman got down ponderously followed by a lady of like dimensions and one young lady and half a dozen children. "Be careful", admonished the gentleman and advanced. Some children ran out of the house and escorted the guests inside.

The new guests were welcomed with a great show of cordiality by the lady of the house. The corpulent lady, went up to the new bride and took a good look at her face. She put four rupees in the bride's hand as a gift and said "I heard that the bride was of a great beauty, but is n't she very thin my dear sister ? We are old fashioned creatures my dear, and like plump figures."

The young girl who had come in with this plain spoken guest, smiled and turned away her face. "My mother-in-law thinks herself the greatest beauty in the land. See how plump she is !", she whispered to a girl of her own age.

"Oh lord ! You must never make fun of your own mother-in-law", the other replied.

The new bride was really good looking. She was very fair and had a slender willowy figure. Her nose was not very aquiline, but her large dark eyes made up for this shortcoming. She was dressed in a blue silk Sari, and was not overloaded with jewellery. The room was getting over-crowded. The younger ladies stuck to their seats by the side of the bride, and the new arrivals could not reach the spot. "Let the seats be arranged for the dinner," cried the lady of the house. "It is getting late."

"You must remove your guests from the room first, else how can we arrange the seats ?" replied one of her nephews. There was only this room large enough to be used as a dining room for so many guests. So the mistress took her new daughter-in-law by the hand and pulled her up. The guests also got up after her and the carpets were rolled up at once. Small pieces of mat were arranged on the floor and plantain leaves placed in front of the seats, to serve as plates for the

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ladies. Some strong lights were brought in and a number of young men appeared to serve the dinner.

There was a good deal of noise and bustle. The ladies sat down in rows and the dinner began. The young men ran in and out of the room, elderly ladies supervised their work and praised and rebuked them alternately. The guests talked and ate, children cried and laughed, it was a merry scene all told.

One batch got up. The place was cleaned up hurriedly and another batch was invited to sit down to the dinner. Those who had finished, either left for their homes or stood talking and laughing in small groups.

In the pandal outside, the gentlemen too had sat down to enjoy the feast. They sat on chairs and ate from plantain leaves spread on the narrow tables in front. Here the tumult was far greater as the guests ate, talked and shouted at the same time. They ate much more heartily than the ladies of course.

There were two boys in this family Nabin and Suren. It was Nabin who had got married, but he could scarcely be recognised as the newly married groom, so bespattered with mud he had become. He had to work as hard as the rest of the family. The shy smile on his lips, escaped the notice of most of the guests. His younger brother Suren had touched up his dress, and was shouting lustily. He was very hard on one of his cousins, named Patal.

One batch got up. The tables had to be cleared, wiped clean with holy Ganges water, before another batch could sit down to dinner. The Mookherjees prided themselves greatly on their orthodoxy. They were descended from a long time of scholars. Only Nabin was rather modern in his outlook, the rest were extremely conservative. Suren was orthodox to the marrow of his bones, he was ready to die for his faith.

Some of the younger boys were busy cleaning up. Suren stood in a corner and fanned himself vigorously with a palmleaf fan. Suddenly someone cried from behind, "How now ? Where is the bride ? Are not we going to have a glimpse of her ?"

Suren turned round and found Gouripati, one of his old classmates standing behind him. He was chewing two or three betel leaves together, so his articulation was rather indistinct.

"Certainly you shall see her," said Suren. "But the crowd surrounding her is rather thick. So it will take some time, before

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we could approach near enough to see her. I hope you had a good feed ?"

"Certainly I had," said Gouripati. "But is n't it getting rather late ? I have to catch the last tram to Calcutta, so I must be off now. I shall come another day to pay my respects to the bride. How do you like her ? What kind is she ?"

"She is just what my brother wanted." Said Suren with a grave face.

"Explain please", said Gouripati, busy chewing his betels.

"She is beautiful and accomplished. She is not a baby and very modern in her dress and ways."

"But why are you so glum over it ?" asked Gouripati. "The description sounds very attractive to me. What kind of a girl, would you have liked for a bride ?"

"You will know it in about four month's time," replied Suren.

Gouripati clapped his hands. "Very good, very good indeed !" he cried, "Then we are going to get another invitation very soon ?"

"I think so," said Suren.

Another batch of guests sat down to eat and Suren ran off to attend to them. Gouripati departed to catch the tram. It was eleven o'clock nearly when the last batch of guests departed. Then there was another ceremony called *Fulashajya.* The newly wedded pair slept in the same room for the first time. It was a ceremony, in which the menfolk, excepting the bridegroom had no part. Only two or three young boys of the family were allowed inside the room. Suren was invited to enter, but he thought it beneath his dignity to do so. Even the older ladies stayed away. The younger ladies left the room after a while, after much giggling and frank jests. But most of them hid here and there, inside and about the room, in order to listen surreptitiously to the talk of the bridegroom and bride. But the newly wedded pair knew what they were in for, being grown up and intelligent both remained silent for a while, then Nabin took the bride Renu by the hand and asked, "Are you feeling home-sick ?"

"No" replied his wife in a whisper.

"You must not be ashamed to own it", said Nabin. "You are quite justified in feeling homesick. A stranger cannot become one's own in a moment. But this feeling will wear off in time and you will feel at home here."

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The bride remained silent. Someone outside the window, giggled loudly.

Nabin took no notice of it. "My family is rather orthodox", he said, "specially my mother and my brother. You may have to listen to unpleasant criticism now and then. Please overlook them for my sake. Try to compromise as much as possible."

The young ladies, in their hidden places were rather disappointed. They had expected ardent lover-like speeches. But finding the bridegroom so matter of fact, they retreated in disorder.

Nabin and his wife too, fell asleep soon after.

Renu had to own within a day or two, to herself, that her husband has done well in warning her in time, she must be very careful in dealing with her husband's relatives. The brother-in-law was a real problem. No smile ever visited his lips. He treated jests and laughter as unseemly levity. His younger sisters and cousins stood in awe of him. The mother-in-law was very grave and very conservative. Still, being a woman, she sometimes descended from her high pedestal and talked like an ordinary human being.

Renu's own family was not objectionably modern, but they were not orthodox at all. The girls were all sent to schools and colleges, they wore shoes, stockings, petticoats and blouses like all modern women and used face powder, cream and scent. They went to cinemas and theatres and sat with their menfolk. They were not rich people, so the girls had not all got as good husbands as they deserved. Renu of course liked her husband very much, but she was rather alarmed when she grew familiar with his relatives.

This time she was to remain here only for a week. Then she would go back to her own people, stay with them for two months and then return here. Of the seven days, three days had already passed and she had already overheard numerous uncharitable remarks about herself.

Her mother-in-law lived in the room, next to hers. These two rooms had cemented floors and roofs of corrugated iron. Suren and Nabin used to live in the same room, before Nabin's marriage ; now Suren had taken shelter in the drawing room, where we first met the bride.

Nabin's mother had a rich baritone voice, she could be easily heard from the street if she spoke in her normal way.

It was afternoon, everybody was resting after lunch. Renu was

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writing a letter to her mother and Nabin was sleeping in the same room.

Suddenly Renu heard her mother-in-law's voice; she was criticising the presents Renu had brought with her, to someone.

"It was nothing but empty show," she was saying. "All Calcutta people are like that. Was there anything of solid worth, tell me? Only flowers, leaves, scent and knick knacks of little value. What am I to do with these? Look at the metal utensils, they are light and thin. You can take my word for it, that everyone of these will become useless within two months. I told them to give a pair of bedsteads, and look at the clumsy double bed they have sent! All the furniture are cheap. Who asked them to give a table harmonium, pray? Is the girl going to organise an opera party?"

"But why did you shout for more cash all the time?" Said Beena, Nabin's youngest sister. Renu could recognise her from her voice. "So they were obliged to spend less money on the presents."

Her mother turned fiercely on her, "Hold your tongue", she cried. "Why should not I ask for cash, please? My son is an M. A. of the University and is earning good money. Such bridegrooms are not cheap. These people have paid only two thousands in cash, but they had given the girl very few ornaments. The presents also are cheap. Because their daughter has got a fair complexion, they think they are entitled to treat us as they like."

But the girl Beena was not to be suppressed so easily, she was a chip of the old block. "You did not send half as many presents with your own daughter", she said, tossing her head.

The mother's fury burst out in a torrent of words. She began comparing her son with her son-in-law, but had to stop as her eldest daughter, the wife of that very son-in-law, entered the room. "This girl is stupid and impertinent", she concluded. "Because Nabin's wife is fair, this chit must take her side against her own mother."

In the next room, Nabin had sat up straight on his bed, wakened by the voice of his mother. He looked at his wife and muttered, "Beena and her brother belong to the same class, I see."

Renu tried to laugh, though her face was pale and her heart was palpitating. She finished her letter and placed it in an envelope.

Her husband got down from the bed and sat down by her. He took her face in his hands and said: "You must not get so depressed at a few words. You must be ready to hear such things now and then.

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I have been listening to such things all my life and they make no impression on me now a days."

"How did you become so different from the rest ?" asked Renu.

"I don't know", Nabin said. "Give me that letter of yours. I shall post it when I go out for my evening stroll."

"Don't your people like music ?" Renu asked.

"Orthodox people do not like girls of good family to play or sing," said Nabin,

"Then I shall take this harmonium to Calcutta with me, and keep it there," said Renu.

"Yes, do" replied her husband. "But mind you do not keep your voice there also."

Someone called him from outside and Nabin left the room. Some young girls rushed in at once. Her two sisters-in-law were amongst them. "Come my dear," said Radha, the elder, "I shall do her hair for you."

Renu did not at all like the way these young ladies did her hair. But she had to submit as she was a new bride. After finishing her hair, the two girls of the family left for their evening dip in the village tank. It was a mercy that Renu was not asked to accompany them. Being a townbred girl, she was totally unaccustomed to bathing in the open. She was allowed to bathe inside the house now, but that small mercy might be taken away from her later on.

The evenings here were very dark, the hurricane-lanterns did very little to dispel that darkness. Renu felt very nervous throughout the evening and night. The daytime was better, although that too had its disadvantages. These two sisters-in-law would never let her alone. They wanted to oil her hair everyday for her. It was a trial for poor Renu as she disliked oil and these relatives insisted on pouring a cupful of oil on her hair as they did not like fluffy silky hair.

Suren did not speak much, but he too could deliver pinpricks. One day he said, "I expected to be served by the new bride once or twice, but I am disappointed. Is she afraid to soil her fair and pretty hands ?"

Beena was fond of Renu and she was a stickler for justice. "Of course she is" the girl said, "Fair hands show up dirty stains quite plainly, you know. But your wife won't have this disadvantage. No dirt or soot will show up against her skin."

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As the mother was present Suren did not say anything. "Don't be impertinent," was his only retort.

"Does your brother like dark girl?" Renu asked her husband at night.

"Yes," replied her husband. "He likes them much more, after your arrival here."

Renu's eyes grew larger with wonder. "What do you mean?" she asked.

Nabin laughed. "Beautiful wives have a baneful effect on the husband's brain, according to my brother," he said. "So he has decided to marry a girl, whose sight would make people jump with fear."

"What an idiot!" thought Renu.

Next day she left for her father's house and took her harmonium with her. As Nabin worked in Calcutta, she knew she would meet him often.

As soon as she had left, Nabin's mother began preparations for bringing home a bride for Suren. A proposal had come and she began to goad her husband to go and see the bride formally.

"All right, I shall go to-morrow," he said at last. "Ask your son whether he too wants to go."

"He would never want to go," said his wife. "He is fond of doing things in the orthodox way. He would be satisfied with the bride we choose for him. He does not hanker after beauty, like your eldest son."

"Still it is better to make sure," said the stubborn old man. "You never know about these modern young men, especially if they are earning money. Come here Radha. You go and ask Suren whether he wants to see his bride himself. We are going to-morrow." Radha went and Beena ran along with her, though nobody had asked her to go. Suren was reading a religious book then, lying full length on his bed. Before Radha could say anything, Beena shouted, "Brother, do you want to go and see your bride for yourself? Father is going to-morrow, do you understand?"

"No, I don't," said Suren, looking up. "But you know brother," said Radha, the wise, "it is better to see for oneself. It saves much trouble in the future."

"And you must make sure whether she is dark enough for your taste," said Beena, the incorrigible.

Suren glared at her and said curtly, "Since you don't know how

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to speak to your elders, please keep your mouth shut." He turned to Radha and said, "Tell father that I don't want to go. But he may take my friend Tinkari with him."

Next day Suren's father had his breakfast early and departed for the prospective bride's house with a cousin of his and Tinkari. His wife felt very pleased with herself and lectured her own daughters on the duty of all young wives.

The old man returned rather late. His wife began to fan him vigorously. "I see you are very tired," she said. "Was the journey very irksome ?"

"Nothing much," said her husband. "We went all the way in a carriage. They took good care of us, though they are very poor. But the girl is very ugly. I did not think she would be so ugly."

"What do you mean by very ugly ?" cried his wife. "She is dark, that we know already. But my son does not want a fair bride."

"Not only is she very dark, but her features are very bad too", said her husband. She is very thin, and has scarcely any hair. A plain and healthy girl would have done quite well, but I don't think we should bring home such an ugly bride for our son. We must think of the next generation".

"How you talk", said the lady. "Your eyes must have played you tricks in the lamp light. The match maker never said she was so ugly. I shall send for Tinkari and ask him. He has got young eyes".

But Tinkari was not to be found then. Suren had already taken him to a secluded corner, and was asking him". Well, how did you find her ?

She is just what you wanted my friend" said Tinkari. "I can assure you, she will never make you forget this world and the next".

Suren appeared a bit crest-fallen.

"How was she dressed ? he asked again, "In the modern way ?"

"Not at all, said Tinkari. "She was dressed simply in a red bordered sari and a white chemise. She had not even dressed her hair. She wore no ornaments, the family is too poor. She has lost her father and lives with her uncle and grandfather. Her maternal grandfather lives in Calcutta and is a rich man. He has promised to pay for the wedding".

"I have heard of the paternal grandfather, he is deeply religious man. This made me agreeable to the match. But I hear that the

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girl lives mostly in Calcutta. I wonder what sort of an education, she has received."

"I heard that she has never gone to school", said Tinkari.

"How old do you think she is ?" asked Suren.

"Please do not ask me that", said Tinkari.

"I never could guess a woman's age".

Suren went home and informed his parents that he was ready to marry the girl.

Then began the usual haggling over the dowry. Suren's mother wanted fifteen hundred rupees in cash, but the girl's guardians refused to spend more than twentyfive hundred over the marriage all told. After much breath and words had been wasted, it was decided to give the bridegroom's party, fifteen hundred in cash, but they were told to expect nothing more. The wedding would take place in Calcutta, and would be a very simple affair. The said sum of money was demanded in advance, and paid down at once.

Suren's mother was very much disappointed. This bride seemed to be inferior to Renu in everything. But what cannot be cured must be endured. She made haste to get a room prepared for Suren and his wife, with a part of the money received. Renu was brought over from her father's house for the wedding. She looked prettier than ever.

The day fixed for the wedding arrived very soon. The bride would be brought to this house on the very next day and the reception held then and there. So preparations began in the Mookherjee family also.

The bridegroom's parents had been asked not to bring a big party. Still a party of thirty accompanied them and they arrived in Calcutta in the evening.

They made their way to the bride's house. The house was decorated but there was no music. There was a fairly big gathering. The bridegroom's party was received with much show of cordiality but the wedding turned out to be a simple affair indeed.

At the time of the "auspicious look", Suren gave a start of dismay. Tinkari had been right. She could have been a bit less ugly. And why was she so thin ? She looked like a skeleton. How was such an unhealthy girl going to do her duty to her husband and family ? His father should have considered these things, Suren had left everything to him.

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However there was no help for it now. The marriage ceremony was performed and Suren returned home with the bride. The girl got fever the same day.

"Even dark girls could be unhealthy, it seems", said the impudent Beena. Her mother had been very much taken aback at the sight of the new bride, so she said nothing.

The bride's name was Malabika, too new-fangled to suit Suren. He told every one to call her by the time-honoured name Savitri.

The bridal reception was hurriedly passed over and the bride was sent back to her own family, with an injunction to get well before returning. Suren had no opportunity to talk to her, even once.

Next week an invitation arrived for the whole family from the new bride's house. One of her cousins was getting married. Suren was asked to go for a couple of days. That did not suit Suren, he said he would go in the evening of the wedding day.

Nabin and Suren started for Calcutta on the appointed day. The ladies of the family preferred to stay at home.

They took a taxi from the station, as it would not look well if they went by tram on their first visit.

They reached the house in good time. This was a gala wedding. Their was music, flowers and festoons of coloured paper everywhere. The crowd was quite large and a big reception party stood at the gate to welcome the guests. There were men, women, girls and boys, all in a group.

One youngman advanced to receive them with appropriate words. Nabin smiled in return. But Suren seemed to have become petrified. About only a yard in front of him, stood his newly wedded wife Malabika, receiving the lady guests. She had no veil over her head and her hair was bobbed. Her eyebrows had been shaved off and painted and rouge had been applied plentifully to her hollow cheeks. Her lips were bright red with lipstick. She was dressed in flimsy georgette, which clung like a second skin to her thin body and through which her ribs could be counted. Her shoes had very high heels and pointed toes. Her laughter was loud and brassen.

Alas for this Modern age !

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WORLD OF BOOKS

Finland : Published by Finland News Service, Helsinki 1939.

It is with melancholy pleasure that we review the excellent illustrated booklet which reached us just when the little but heroic Republic of Finland is engaged in a life and death struggle. Finland may go down in this unequal fight but she will ever live in our memory as the buffer between the ominous march of communist Russia and the democracies of western Europe. The Finns belonging to the linguistic family speaking the Fino-Ugrian speech are considered to be related to many Oriental races. They migrated to their present native land about 2000 years ago when they have already developed their own culture attested by their famous national epic Kalevala translated into many languages. During the 12th and 13th centuries the Finns entered into union with Sweden although it enjoyed a large measure of autonomy and by the middle of the 16th century Finland became a separate Duchy. She developed into a self-governing state, the ruler of which was the Czar of Russia in his capacity of the Grand Duke of Finland. Thus the tussle between Sweden and Russia is again going to victimize this heroic race who declared their independence in 1917 and joined the comity of sovereign States. As such Finland extended her cordial invitation to all the nations to participate in the Olympic Games of 1940. A grand stadium was built in Helsinki under the direction of Paavo Nurmi, the world famous runner who is the greatest personality of Finnish athletics. Jussl Mäntynen won international recognition as a sculptor of animals in which he shows the strength and realism of Chinese masters. Another great sculptor is Vaino Altonen who made the magnificent statue of Finland's most famous writer, Aleksis Kivi. So in the department of music Finland claims the world famous composer Jean Sibelius. Finland's first university was founded in the harbour town of Turku, one of the cradles of Finnish culture. Turku also boasts of an ancient academy and of the famous cathedral of 13th century. After the declaration of independence the University of Helsinki was opened with a big library and a splendid Department of Forestry which is the special subject there, for Finland is the biggest wood-exporter in Europe. The sea is for Finland no less

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than it was for her redoubtable neighbour Russia, the "window to Europe." Although Finland possesses more than 3000 kilometres of land frontiers, the sea plays a great part in her relations with the outside world and she has more than 70,000 lakes exceeding 200 metres in length. Finland is a beautiful country with noble traditions and in the midst of her tragic trials we Indians, together with all lovers of freedom, convey to her brave sons and daughters our deepest sympathies and best wishes.

Genava : Bulletin of the Museum of History and Art ; Ariana Museum, Geneva, 1938.

The current number of the excellent Bulletin is edited by Prof. W. Deonna of the University of Geneva. He is also the Director of the Museum of Art and History with special collections on archaeology, numismatics and fine arts. Among the recent acquisitions we note the miniature portrait of Empress Maria Theresa by the celebrated Swiss painter J. E. Liotard (1702-1789) who spent several years in Constantinople. There he procured some gorgeous oriental robes which he used to lend to his models and that is how we get this rare portrait of Maria Theresa in oriental costumes. Among the memoires published we mention the highly interesting study of Prof. Deonna with regard to the various types of supports and feet-designs in ancient and modern furniture, Egyptian, Ægian, Etruscan, Graeco-Roman etc. Several scholars collaborated in publishing a systematic excavation report of the pre-historic site of Praille near Geneva. The illustrations are excellent.

Prayers, Praises and Psalms : Translated by Dr. V. Raghavan. Published by G. Natesan & Co., Madras. PP. 512. Price Rs. 1/4.

We recommend this excellent book to the students of the devotional literature of India which they will find in clear Nagri character on one side and a simple English translation on the other. Starting with the Vedic and post-Vedic literature Dr. Raghavan takes us through the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Puranas, the Agamas and the Tantras together with samples from classical poetry as well as the hymns and psalms composed by the various mediaeval Acharyas. A very useful index to authors and their works together with brief notes go to enhance the reference value of the book.

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The Bhagavad-Gita or The Lord's Song : By Dr. Annie Besant. Eleventh edition. Price As. 4 only. Published by G. Natesan & Co., Madras.

The booklet happens to be the cheapest and the best pocket-edition of the Bible of Hindu India. The publisher deserves congratulations for having distributed thousands of copies of this memorable book.

Buddha : By Devamitta Dharmapala. Published by Natesan & Co., Madras. Price As. 12 only.

The great Simhalese Buddhist scholar Dharmapala passed away at Sārnāth in 1933. He has earned immortality by dedicating his life to the revival of Buddhism and we are glad to read in this handy volume Dharmapala's lucid exposition on the life and teachings of the Buddha and on the philosophy and ethics of Buddhism. The book deserves wide circulation.

Zoroaster by Prof. A. R. Wadia. Published by Natesan & Co., Madras. Price As 12 only.

A few centuries before the foundation of Buddhism and Jainism we witness the somewhat indistinct yet inspiring career of Zarathustra, the prophet of Iran. Prof. Wadia has rendered a great service to the cause of the study of Asiatic religions by preparing this brief yet illuminating survey of the career of Zoroaster, of his ethical teaching and his philosophy. One of the leading thinkers among the Parsees that he is, Prof. Wadia has given also in his concluding remarks and in his chapter on Later Zoroastrianism, the permanent elements in Zoroastrian faith and strengthened his thesis by extracts from Zoroastrian books made by the late Sir J. J. Modi. We recommend this excellent book to all students of comparative religion.

Yogic Asanas for Health and Vigour : A physiological Exposition by V. G. Rele. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. PP. 104. Price Rs. 3/12/- only.

The yogic discipline of ancient India presents a metaphysical as well as physiological problems and the author has boldly tried to explain the theraputic value of yogic exercises illustrating them by 44 poses. These, along with the description of the technique of various

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exercises, should prove valuable guides to those who desire to learn and practise them. The primary object of this book is to impress on the reader how the vicissitudes of middle life react unfavourably on health and how the practice of *asanas* mentioned in the yogic literature of India counteracts this tendency towards ill health.

Manasollasa of king Somesvara edited with an introduction by G. K. Shrigondekar. Published by Baroda Oriental Institute, 1939. Price Rs. 5/- only.

We are thankful to Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, Director of the Baroda Oriental Institute, for publishing the second volume of the encyclopaedic work Manasollasa composed by the western Chalukya king Somesvara. The king describes himself as the master of drawing and painting and he was no less an authority on Hindu music ; for, as announced by the editor, one of the longest chapters has been devoted to music, in the 4th Vimsati of the work which is yet to appear. In the present volume we find elaborate description of the twenty kinds of enjoyments *(upabhogas)* and also twenty kinds of royal sports *(vinodas)*. The previous sections of the book already published gave us valuable data with regard to ancient Indian architecture and town-planning. In the present volume we get equally valuable and highly interesting details with regard to iconometry, painting, education of the prince, martial sports, hunting, games and amusements, such as rarely to be found in any other Sanskrit work. We congratulate Mr. Shringondekar for his careful editing of the Sanskrit text and we recommend the book to all students of Indian culture. The Gaekwad's Oriental Series proudly enshrine the name of the most enlightened ruler of Hindu India, Maharaja Sayaji Rao III Gaekwad and we hope that his enlightened policy will be continued by his successor, enriching the literature of ancient Indian culture and religion.

Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Government of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1939.

The Department under its able and enthusiastic Director Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval attended to the excavation work in Padmanabhapuram and Vilinjam and we are glad to note that the government have accepted the recommendation of the Director in organizing an Archaeological Museum at the ancient palace of Padmanabhapuram with a hall of sculpture and a gallery of inscriptions. A rock-cut relievo at Vilinjam

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bears close resemblance to later Pallava art (8th century A.D.). Four mural paintings of the early 18th century have been discovered in the Vishnu temple at Aranmula and the paintings in the Padmanabapuram palace are being copied under the personal supervision of the Director who gives a detailed description of the murals. He continues to supervise over the State Museum and Sri Chitralayam of Trivandrum which were keenly admired by the galaxy of scholars assembled in the city during the 9th session of the All India Oriental Conference. We wish the department all success and hope that the government under its enlightened Maharaja and progressive Dewan Sir. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar would soon co-ordinate the activities of the newly founded University with those of the Archaeological Department and of the scholars engaged in the famous Trivandrum Sanskrit Series which have saved from oblivion so many precious documeuts of ancient Indian history and culture.

Shelley's Epipsychidion by Dr. P. N. Roy M.A., D. Litt. (Rome). Published by the Modern Publishing Syndicate, 119, Dharmatolla Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2/- or Sh. 3/-

The author has already made his mark in the field of modern Indian literature by his incisive and original criticisms and he contributed substantially to the study of Tennyson against the background of continental literature, specially Italian. Now we find him engaged in throwing a new light on Shelley's masterpiece Epipsychidion. There he demonstrates what vast field of research is lying ahead of us if we follow the method of Prof. Roy in studying English writers in connection with their cultural and emotional affiliation with other European countries. During his studies at the University of Rome, Dr. Roy collected heaps of new materials which, we hope, he would be encouraged to publish, throwing new light on old masters. This new commentary of Prof. Roy on Shelley should be read by all lovers of the great English poet.

The Great Unity by Margaret Barr, M. A. Published by the Lindsey Press, 5. Essex Street, London. Price : Sh 1/6.

The learned author is a member of the British Unitarian Society. She worked for several years at the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School in Calcutta and is at present engaged in developing on admirable lines a Basic school for Khasia children in Shillong. In her works as well as

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in her writings we feel the spirit of the Great Unity. Rarely do we find a book which incalcutes true universality of outlook in such a brief survey of the religions of the world. We congratulate the author and recommend the book to all those who aspire to teach the elements of comparative religion to our boys and girls.

Potua Sangit by Guru Saday Dutt, I. C. S. Published by the University of Calcutta.

That we are conscious to-day of the existence of diverse traditions of folk art in Bengal, is due to the indefatigable research of Mr. G. S. Dutt who is a veritable pioneer in the field. Between 1930-33 as Collector of the Birbhum District he recovered several songs or narrative poems of the Potuas or rural painters of that district. Krishna and Rama, Siva and his consort formed the centre of the song cycles, recited or chanted with the accompaniment of picture scrolls. These pictures were usually "written" on cloth gradually replaced by paper. The Potuas were a special caste of painters but it is significant, as pointed out by the learned author, that the potters and the Brahmans of the Acharya class were also reputed to be professional painters in Bengal. In his valuable Introduction the author has given an explanation and classification of the songs along with a brief statement of his activities during the last ten years, in connection with the exploration and conservation of the folk arts of Bengal. He is much more than an art-critic or a collector ; he plunged into the aesthetic life of rural Bengal, rediscovered its dances and songs, its wood-carvings and paintings reconstructing thereby the entire art life of rural Bengal. He himself thus came to be a living museum of those arts and crafts and succeeded in rousing the attention of the leaders of other provinces where we are receiving sympathetic responses. We have no doubt today that the popular arts of India, thanks to the ardent championship of Mr. Dutt, have a glorious future. We are grateful to him for having saved from oblivion these valuable poetic and pictorial fragments of our rural life. The illustrations accompanying the text are sure to convince all serious students of Indian art that Mr. Dutt has unearthed a veritable treasurehouse of Indian art. We look forward to reading more and more of his valuable communications on the subject and we congratulate the University of Calcutta on its sponsoring the publication of this precious volume.

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Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Government of Assam, Bulletins No. 2, 3 and the **Tripura Buranji** edited by Prof. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan.

Students of Indology in general and of Assamese culture in particular will feel grateful to Dr. S. K. Bhuyan and his colleagues for the valuable work they are doing through their Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies. Its aims and objects were formulated as early as 1932 the in Bulletin no 1, introduced by his Excellency Sir E. Laurie Hammond. The second Bulletin, published in 1934 was introduced by his Excellency Sir Michael Keane and we read therein that as early as 1832 Lord Wiliam Bentinck deputed Captain Jenkins to report on the resources and products of Assam. The Dept. of Ethnography was established in 1894 at the instance of Sir Edward Gait who rendered valuable services to the cause of historical research in Assam. After his departure from Assam in 1897 the ethnographic survey was continued by Col. Gurdon and Dr. J. H. Hutton. Simultaneously we find the systematic collection of manuscripts and the publication of Buranji or chronicles.

When the third Bulletin was published in 1936 we were glad to note a significent step forward with the establishment of the permanent home of the Department in Gauhati, the Narayani Handiqui Historical Institute. We expect great things out of this Department and wish the organizers all success.

Dr. Bhuyan, the very soul of this organization has continued to enrich our knowledge of Assam from year to year. With his encyclopaedic knowledge of Assamese history and culture, he has published rare historical documents in Assamese and in English, the latest being the *Tripura Buranji.* It is a chronicle of Tipperah, written in 1724 A.D. by Ratna Kandali Sarma and Arjun Das Bairagi, who were Swargadeo Rudra Singha's envoys to Raja Ratna Manikya of Tipperah. This chronicle is is bound to impress upon the mind of all students of history by virtue of its simplicity of style, dignity of narration and accuracy of observation on the resources, customs, topography and history of Tripura. Hindu chroniclers of Assam, therefore, deserve at last the same attention and eulogy as are due to the Muslim chroniclers of medieval India. Tripura is one of the most progressive states of Bengal and the new light thrown on its past by the Assamese Chroniclers was most welcome. We recommend this book as well as other publications of the Department to the libraries and learned societies of India.

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Japan to-day and to-morrow (1939) Published by the Osaka Mainichi, Tokyo. Price 2 yen.

This annual of one of the leading papers of Japan gives a highly interesting survey of the domestic as well as the international relations of Japan. Japanese finance and industry, social life and sports, cultural trends and artistic activities are ably summarised. The volumes are richly illustrated and some of the coloured plates are real things of beauty, specially "Fujin" from the Kyoto Temple, a national treasure.

Present-day Nippon (1939). Published by the Asahi Sinbun Ltd., Osaka and Tokyo.

This excellent annual gives topical articles on Japan's historical position in the Far East, on the dawn of New China and on Manchukuo. Among the rare objects of oriental art, we find the splendid reproduction of a 3000 years' old Chinese bronze vessel discovered in Honan province in 1937 and we find also "the sun and eagle" painted by Insyo Domoto on the occasion of the 60th anniversary (25th Jan, 1939) of the Osaka Asahi.

Japan : Her cultural Development by Ryuichi Kaji. Published by the Kokushai Bukna Shinkokai, Tokyo, 1939.

The author visited several parts of Asia, specially Far Eastern Russia. As a layman he surveys in this handy volume the problems of the clash of the old and the new, of the East and the West in Eastern Asia. The book is excellently illustrated.

Academic and Cultural Organizations in Japan (1939) Published by Kokushai Bunka Shinkokai, Tokyo, Japan.

This valuable handbook is compiled by the National Committee of Japan on Intellectual Co-operation. On Japan's retirement from the League of Nations, the publication of the book was taken over by the Society for International Cultural Relations, famous for its systematic activities in fostering intellectual co-operation of Japan with other nations. The handbook describes over 600 organizations of scientific and cultural importance noting the date of foundation, the aims and activities, the publications, the office bearers etc. An index of the organizations, classified according to subjects, adds to the reference value of the volume.

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The Psychological attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy and its Systematic Representation According to Abhidhamma Tradition by Anagarika B. Govinda. Readership Lectures, Patna University, 1936-37. Published 1939 and available through the International Buddhist University Association 4-A, College Square, Calcutta. 271 pages, 21 tables and 80 diagrams, price Rs. 5/- (full cloth)

This book, in a concise form and in a readable style, contains the framework of Buddhist psychology and its philosophical foundations.

The author has tried to build up the fundamental thoughts of Buddhism from their very beginnings and in both their logical structure and their psychological necessity. Thus every thinking man can approach the book without any previous knowledge of the subject. It leads from the general background of religious experience, from the Age of Magic through the Age of Gods to the Age of Man, and here it shows how the problem of the human mind opened a vast field of exploration which up to the present time have not yet been exhausted. The book, thus, does not only deal with the thoughts of the past but with the problems of the present.

Those who are interested in the systematic representation of traditional Buddhist psychology and its terminology will find valuable contributions in the Appendix with numerous tables. Besides these many diagrams will help the reader in summarizing and visualizing the simultaneous relations of leading ideas and psychological concepts. An elaborate Index of technical terms, Pali words, and general references will enable the reader to make the best use of the vast material offered in this work.

World Economic Survey, 1938/39. League of Nations, Geneva (I) Ser L. O. N. P, 1939. 11. A. 18. 247 pages in warppers 6/—or 7. 50 bound in cloth 7/6 or $2.00

The League of Nations' World Economic Survey 1938/39 was completed on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities in Europe. It covers up to the beginning of August 1939, and thus presents a picture of the world economic situation up to date of the beginning of hostilities. During the first month of 1939 the world was making a rapid recovery from the major depression with which it had been threatened in the first half of 1938. This rapid reversal of economic conditions may be ascribed in part to financial measures taken

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in the United States of America and in other countries in order to stimulate the lagging demand for goods and services. But in the main it was due to increased expenditure on armaments and war preparations.

This issue—the eighth in the series—includes a number of special studies. One chapter, for example, is devoted to a study of the economic effects of recent changes in the trend of population.

A second chapter studies the problems of public finance, and examines the extent to which the costs of rearmament have eaten into the national incomes of various countries.

The concluding chapter, entitled "The Economic Effects of War, Rearmament and Territorial Changes" summarises the main theme of the volume. Economic destruction in Spain and China and the reduction in the standard of living in Japan as a result of war ; the economic effects of the territorial expansion of Germany ; and the greatly increasd intervention of the state in economic affairs for the purposes of national defence ; these are the main subjects of the chapter. In various other chapters the growing importance of political tension and of rearmament is emphasised in their effects on economic activity, on world trade, on hours of work and the demand for labour, on budgetary and monetary policies, and on commercial relations between the nations.

Business Cycles in the United States of America 1939-1932 by J. Tinbergen. **League of Nations, Geneva.** (1) Ser. L. O. N. P. 1939. II. A. 16. 244 pages. Price : 5/- $1. 25.

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations has just published the second volume of the series "Statistical Testing of Business-cycle Theories" dealing with the business cycle in the United States of America from 1919 to 1932.

This volume applies the system of mathematical analysis described in the first volume to the post-war trade data of the United States. It aims at determining, on the basis of existing statistics and with the help of the "multiple correlation method," the more important quantitative relationships which have governed the ecomomic system of the United States of America during the period under review. In this way, some forty equations are found, which are thought to represent the main characteristics of the mechanism of the United States business cycles in that period. The combination of these equations by mathematical treatment ("elimination process") yields one "final" equation, from which emerges the general nature of the United States cycle.

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Currents of Thought in The European Literature, P.P. 164. Price Rs. 1/12/-

Aims and Ideals of Ancient Indian Culture by Prof. Brojasundar Ray, M. A., B. L. Principal, Lady Keane Girls' College, Shillong. P.P. 178. Price Rs. 2/-

The author is a veteran educationist helping generation of students in understanding European history and liturature. Naturally we find his "Currents of Thought" a thought-provoking book on the European literature. But the literature of Europe cannot be fully appreciated without reference to the life and civilization of Europe and we agree with the author that such a study must necessarily be on a comparative basis. In his searching examination of the European concepts of chivalry and chastity of man and nature, of the human and the divine, Prof. Ray has tried to help his readers by supplying apposite Indian analogies and parallelisms. We believe that such a valuable study in comparative literature would be of great help to our graduate and post-graduate students for whom they are mainly intended. In his notes on the Supernatural as well as in his analysis of the feeling of Revenge in European literature, he is at his best combining a rare critical acumen with a keen sense of literature. We endorse the opinion of Principal Rabindra Narayan Ghosh that the "most valuable feature", of the book, "is the stimulus it gives to freedom of thought and outlook."

In his "Aims and Ideals of Ancient Indian Culture", Prof. Ray appears as a profound student of philosophy and history. Philosopical thought in ancient India was enriched as much by the orthodox as by the heterodox systems. Therefore, the legacies of the Vedas and the Upanishads, of Jainism and Buddhism have been systematically assessed and the learned author finally takes us to the appreciation of the Three-fold ideals of Hindu culture, Jnana (knowledge), Bhakti (devotion) and Karma (work). While discussing these ideals he could not help, as a historian to point out to us the aberrations and defects that have crept into Hindu ideals. But his criticism is inspired by genuine sympathy and we are sure that his book will illumine the mind and inspire the heart of many of his readers. We draw the attention of the readers specially to the sections on the method of education and on the Hindu universalism proving beyond doubt that he is a firm believer on the revival of Hindu society and idealism. We recommend the books of Principal Ray to all lovers of Indian culture. He has earned our gratitude by his illuminating presentation of the objective of the life of our ancestors and the method they followed in attaining that object.

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Constitution of Iran

By Prof. Ramesh Ch. Ghosh, M.A., B.L.

The Persian Constitution is one of the most wonderful political documents in the world. Constitutional writers of the West might have had reasons in the past to ignore the history of its development. But how the people of the East could have left such an important factor in the growth of democracy in the Asiatic continent unnoticed, uncared for, is really a mystery inexplicable. But things have changed too fast and as M. Nakhai writes : "L'apreté de la lutte a montre à suffisance l'importance que l'Europe attachait a la Perse comme facteur economique de la vie internationale. Aujourd'hui les peuples de l'Occident recherchent l'Iran comme une alliée precieuse dans leurs combinaisons politiques" *(L'Evolution Politique de l'Iran* – p. 115). Before Reza Sha Pahlevi, Europe had a Persian politics ; to-day, Iran has an European politics. The East has, however, a greater interest in Persian politics than the West, for not only the Persian Constitution of 1906-7 is the first democratic Constitution of the East, but also, Iran, by her special position in the map of Asia is the real centre of the Old World, maintaining a necessary equillibrium between European imperialism and Russian communism. Further, as Mohammad Essad-Bey points out ; "Reza Shah's gigantic plan transcends the narrow circle of Persian domestic politics and bids fair to develop into a deciding factor in pan-Asiatic foreign relations" *(Reza-Shah* (1938), p. 209). Therefore, Persian politics deserve more careful attention than it has hitherto received in the East.

This beautiful pleateau of 628,000 Sq. miles, on the north bordered by the crooked paw of the Russian bear and the blue waters of the Caspian Sea, in the West by Turkey and Iraq, in the South by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman ; and in the East by Afghanisthan and British Baluchistan, is inhabited by a most ancient race of predominantly Aryan strain—15,000,000 souls, more than 90 percent of whom belong to the Shia sect of Islam. But there are at present 850,003 Sunnis ; 10,000 Parsis ; 40,000 Jews ; 50,000 Armenions and 30,000 Nestorians (*Statesman Year Book*—1939—p. 1042), besides some Christians belonging to the foreign legations

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and missionary societies. In studying the political history of the Persians, it is very necessary to remember the famous saying of Gobineau that "L'Iran est un de ces gros blocs chus des montagnes au milieu d'un torrent qui peut l'user sur ses bords et le soulever un moment, mais le bloc retombe aussitot immobile sur sa masse." Indeed, the Arab conquest failed to stamp out the ancient Iranian culture, and, even as late as 1920, both the British and the Russian diplomacy had to acknowledge defeat before the unbending will of Iran to preserve her national independence, ancient culture and passionate individualism. Not much concerned with her cultural development, I propose to give her a brief outline of the political factors that brought about the great Constitution of 1906.

By the year 1881 Russia had annexed a number of frontier regions of Persia, while in the East the creation of British Baluchistan in the hitherto "no man's land," completed the encirclement of Persia. The opening of the telegraph lines by foreign Companies on Iranian soil and the import of the western political ideas created an agitation in Iran, but the failure of Constitutional Government in Turkey in 1876 made the Shah, Nasir-Ud-Din more and more unyeilding to popular demands. After his assasination in 1896, Muzaffar-Ud-Din ascended the throne ; but as he was quite an incapable and reckless ruler, violence and anarchy broke out in many parts of his empire. The Persian monarchs had almost failed to weld the diverse tribal chiefs and members into one homogeneous nation under a powerful Central Government. As Muhammad Essad-Bey writes : "Until the Phalavi Cap was decreed (1927), there really were no Persians ; there were Bakhtiaris, Ghashghais, Lurs, Turkomans, lowly peasants, proud feudals—an utterly bewildering conglomeration of castes and and cultures, but Persia as a nation existed on paper only (Ibid-p. 191). Farther, the economic misery of the people accelerated the pace of political disintegration. Even the great pan-Islamist Jamal-Ud-Din vehemently criticised the Corrupt Vizier, while Prince Malkolm, the Persian Minister in London, strongly advocated for a Parliament for Persia. The appointment of the arrogant and ignorant Abdul Hamid as Aynu'd-Dawla (Minister of the Interior) in 1903, and as Sadr-i-Azam (Prime Minister) on January, 24, 1904, was greatly resented by the people. The appointment of M. Heynssen, and then of M. Naus—another Beligian—as Director-General of Customs, and subsequently also as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, High

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Treasurer, and a Member of the Supreme Council of State, brought about a condemnation from the people, especially when M. Naus began to impose and realise quite arbitrarily the customs dues. At this period, the Shah was also contemplating to take huge loans from Russia and England in exchange of valuable national concessions. The abortive Russian Revolution of 1905 also aroused the political consciousness of the educated section of the people. In the early months of 1906, Persia suffered a severe financial dislocation. Due to a high price of silver, the silver coins of Persia were exported out of the country which was flooded in turn, by the paper notes issued by the Imperial Bank of Persia an English concern, having the monopoly of note issue. Lastly, bread-riots broke out all over the country.

Up till now, the people had demanded simply the removal of the Aynu'd—Dawla and the Belgian customs officials. In December 1905, the Shah had issued a *dast-khatt* or autograph letter to the *bastis* (or seceders from the capitial) requesting them to come back to the town and "promising to dismiss *Aynu'd-Dwala ;* to convene the '*Adalat-Khana*' or "House of Justice", which they now demanded and which was to consist of representatives elected by the clergy, merchants and landed proprietors, and presided over by the Shah himself ; to abolish favouritism, and to make all Persian subjects equal in the eye of the Law" [*The Persian Revolution,* 1905-1909 – p. 144—by E. G. Browne, (1910)]. But in reply to a report published from St. Petersburg, expressing fearful consequences of this reform, the Persian Legation in London published on Feb. 2, 1906, a *dementi* "declaring that the nature of the proposed "House of Justice" had been entirely misunderstood, and that it was intended to be a purely Judicial Court, not a Legislative Assembly". For several months, the Shah went on heedless of the popular demands and supressing all constitutional agitations. Great leaders like Sayyid Abdullah, Sayyid Muhammad, Aqa Sayyid Jamal, Sheik Muhammad, etc., began to denounce autocracy, while various secret societies, notably the Anjumani—Makhfi, and national libraries, especially the Kitab-khana-i-Milli began to preach sedition. The number of refugees (*bastis*) gradually increased from 800 in July to 14,000 in August, 1906, in the British Legation.

At last, on August 5, 1906, the Shah Muzaffarud-Din issued the Firman or Royal Proclamation, authorising the establishment of a

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National Assembly. The Firman said : "We do enact that an Assembly of delegates elected by the Princes, the Doctors of Divinity (ulama) the Qajar family (the Royal family), the nobles and notables, the land-owners, the merchants and the guilds shall be formed and constituted by election of the classes above mentioned, in the capital Teheran ; which Assembly shall carry out the requisite deliberations and investigations on all necessary subjects connected with important affairs of the State and Empire and the public interests ; and shall render the necessary help and assistance to our Cabinet of Ministers in such reforms as are designed to promote the happiness and well-being of Persia ; and shall with complete confidence and security, through the instrumentlity of the first Lord of the State, submit their porposals to us, so that these, having been duly ratified by us, may be carried into effect". The Firman also gave order to the Prime Minister to "arrange and prepare a code of regulations and provisions governing this Assembly and likewise the ways and means necessary to its formation, so that by the help of God Most High this Assembly may be inaugurated and may take in hand the necessary reforms" The text of this Firman was published and proclaimed.

On August 19, 1906, the House of Parliament was officially opened in all solemnity, in the presence of the high ecclesiastical authorities who were entertained as Shah's guests for three days. But on September 8, the Mullahs refused to accept the ordinances drafted by the Prime Minister for the constitution of the Majlis (Assembly), and demanded that : (1) Persia should be divided into eleven (or 13) areas ; (2) that the Majlis should consist of 200 members and (3) that any male person between the ages of 30 and 70, being neither a Government servant, nor a convict, but able ro read and write, should be eligible for membership. The Committee appointed for drafting the Electoral Law (Nizam-nama-i-Intikhavat) had completed its labours, and the great Electoral Law was passed on September 9, 1906. Its most important provisions are summarised below : The electors of the realm were divided into six classes : (i) Princes and the Qazar tribe, (ii) Doctors of Divinity and students ; (iii) Nobles and Notables ; (iv) Merchants ; (v) Landed proprietors and peasants ; (vi) Trade guilds (Art. I). The electors were to be at least of 25 years of age, Persian subjects and known in the locality. Women, minors foreigners, bankrupts, convicted persons and those who were serving actually in the land or sea forces, were deprived of the right to vote

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(Arts. 2 & 3). The number of deputies should not exceed 200 (Art. 8). The deputies must be males, speak Persian language, be able to read and write, be Persian subjects of Persian extraction, must not be in government employment, or less than 30 or more than 70 years of age. Of the 60 seats alloted to Teheran, Princes and members of the Qajar family had 4 ; doctors of divinity and students, 4 ; merchants 10 ; landowners and peasants, 10 ; trade guilds, 32 in all, one from each guild. (Art. 6). In the provinces, there were to be twelve electoral areas, some of them sending 6, others 12 members, each. But elections in the provinces were indirect. Each elector had one vote and could vote only in one class. By Article 19, the deputies of Teheran, when elected, could proceed to discharge the functions of the Assembly immediately without waiting for the arrival of the provincial deputies. This provision was included in the electoral land because, as Browne points out, the people thought it to be waste of time to wait until the return of the provincial deputies, while in the meantime the Shah might change his mind and revoke the Rescript (Ibid-p. 129). The living expenses and annual allowances of the deputies were to be determined by the Assembly (Art. 20). The tenure of the Assembly was fixed at two years, after which "fresh elections shall take place throughout the whole of Persia" (Art. 21). Article 23 guaranteed the personal freedom of the deputies from detention or arrest for their speeches or writings excepting those which are contrary to "public good" and "against Islamic law". Art. 24 laid down that government officials or employees could not be members of the Assembly unless they quitted their service.

The Assembly actually met in the building named 'Imarat-i-Khurshed' but, after three weeks, moved to Bahristan and began its deliberation on October 7, 1906. The Shah's speceh from the throne was read out by the Nizam-ul-Mulk. On November 23, this new Assembly showed its independence by refusing to sanction a loan of £ 400,000 which the Shah was going to take from England and Russia, on the ground that it would endanger Persia's independence. The deputies from the provinces came in slowly. But it would be a very wrong idea to think that this National Assembly was a homogeneous body either in political aims or economic or social objectives. Victor Berard critically describes the composition of the first Assembly in these words : "L' Assembly elle-meme etait un champ de bataille

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entre les castes qui n'avaient fait alliance que pour defendre leurs privilèges respectifs contre le Roi.

Du droit de leur science, de leur vertu et de leur dignite sacrée, le *mouchteheds* reclaimaient le controle de toute discussion et meme de tout proposition legislative.

Le bourgeois et le aristocrates ne voulaient que restaurer leur ancienne association avec le Roi, mais en entre le gerants et adminis trateurs-delegues.

Seuls, quelques *mirzas* politiciens et quelques jeunes reformistes entendaient gouverner sur le modélle de l'Europe occidentale et non sur les traditions iraniennes ou musulmanes. Aucun de parties n' avait une conception tres nette de son ideal de gouvernement" (*Revolution de la Perse* (Paris, 1910), pp. 353-54). It resembled the States-General of France more than a real popular assembly. But there was one common agreement amongst all these diverse groups and interests and that is—they were all constitutionalists. They all wanted to be governed in accordance with known principles of Law.

The Assembly began to determine the Fundamental Law of the Constitution (Qanun-i-Asasi), whose draft was published by the end of October, and which was finally ratified on December 30, 1906, by the Shah—just five days before his death. It was also signed by the Crown Prince, Muhammad Ali Mirza, who promised not to dissolve the existing Majlis for at least two years.

After the death of his father, the new Shah was crowned on January 19, 1907. But he disliked the constitution granted by his father, suspected the Majlis, did not invite the deputies to be present at his coronation, and under his instructions the responsible minister refused to appear in the Assembly and answer questions. But on October 7, 1907, he was compelled to ratify the Supplementary Constitutional Law. He secretly tried to obtain loan from the English and the Russians, incited some chiefs (e.g. Rahim Khan) to remove by violence all prominent members of the National Party in Ajerbaijan, and bribed some reactionary *mujtahids* (e. g. Sheik Fazlu'llah-i-Nuri) to carry on propaganda against the National Assembly. For several months there were considerable ministerial changes and political persecutions and the Shah preferred to be "the King of a nation in foreign bondage rather than the constitutional monarch of a free people." On December 14, 1907, the Cabinet resigned, but on the 15th, the Shah imprisoned the Premier, and by a *coup d'etat* tried to dissolve the Majlis.

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The people rose in revolt. The Shah became nervous. He tried to intimidate the Persian people by securing diplomatic intervention of Russia and Great Britain in his favour. After having fled from the city to the Bagh-i-Shah, he issued ordinances, declared martial law, arrested the national leaders, filled the streets with Cossack patrols and put Colonel Liakhoff, a Russian officer, in charge of his army. Bahristan was bombarded, scores of people killed, leaders imprisoned, press gagged, constitution suspended. Russia tried to fish in troubled waters; but England, realising the danger of Russian extension on the north and the genuine desire of the Persian people for constitutional government, insisted upon the Shah to grant them some constitution, when the Shah approached Great Britain for a loan. The revolt of the people in various centres was taking ominous shapes, and at the end of September, 1908, the Shah issued a rescript for the restoration of the Majlis with reduced powers. But on November, 22, by another rescript he cancelled the first one and declared flatly that he had "quite abondoned any idea of convoking a Parliament as the ulemas had declared that such an institution is contrary to Islam" (*Blue Book* [cmd. 4581], pp 208-9). But the most notable *mujtahids* of Karbala and Naajaf at once repudiated this false statement of the Shah and demanded an immediate restoration of the Majlis.

In January, 1909, violent agitations broke out at Rasht, Astrabad, Mashhad, Lur, Ispahan. The Shah's governments were overthrown in these places, and at last the victorious forces of liberation began to march upon the capital. The Shah in response to good counsels from Russia and Britain, agreed on May 10, 1909 to restore the old constitution without any alteration and to hold elections as soon as the New Electoral Law had been promulgated. On June, 1909, the New Electoral Law was signed by the Shah ; but it was promulgated on July 1, 1909. The number of deputies was fixed at 120, while election by two degrees was prescribed for the whole of Persia (Art. 15), while by Art. 4 the age for franchise was lowered to 20 years. The people again began to disbelieve the king. Nationalist armies under Haji Aliquli Khan, the Sardar-i-Asad, and Mohammad Wali Khan, the Siphadar-i-Azam, entered the capital on July 13, amidst cries of "Long live the Constitution", and for three days there were severe fighting with the Royalist troops and the Cossack Brigade. But, on Friday morning, July 16, the Shah took refuge in the Russian Legation at Zarganda and in the evening of the same day the

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National Council consisting of the Nationalist leaders, the chief *mujtahids*, notables and as many members of the former Majlis as were then available, held an extraordinary meeting, deposed the Shah and chose his twelve year old son, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, as his successor, with the old trusted Azudu'l Mulk, the head of the Qajar family as the Regent. The National Council also nominated the first Cabinet with the Siphadar as the Chief Minister and Minister of War, and set up a special Court, known as Malkama-i-Qazawat-i-Ali (the Supreme Court of Judicature) to try political offenders. The elections at Teheran were conducted on August 17, while a Directory of 20 members was appointed with extensive powers of control. On September 13, the Directory was increased in size to 40 members, but its function became restricted to those of an Advisory Council. On November 15, the new Parliament was opened with all solemnity in the presence of princes, clergy, nobles and foreign representatives. The speech from the Throne was read out by the Siphadar, which included, *inter alia*, an exaltation of the National Parliament, "won by the courage and endeavours of the people themselves", and an exhortation to the Representatives of the Nation and the Ministers of the Crown to "concentrate their attention on the reorganisation of the different departments of the state and the ordering of their formation according to the principles which prevail in civilised countries", for the comfort of the people and the strengthening of the constitution. (Vide—Browne—Ibid, pp. 336-37).

The subsequent working of the constitution did not prove to be successful, and that was because there was no agreement as to the political or economic programme, and no expert knowledge of the principles of government. As Berard wrote : "Le revolution persane n'est pas une victoire du puvoir civil on religieux sur le puvoir militaire, une revanche du droit divin sur le sabre, une restauration d'un *mikado* sur un *chogun*, comme au Japon. Et ce n'est pas davantage un assaut des soldats contre la theocratie, comme en Turquie ou en Espagne. Le caractere dominant de cette revolution persane est que l' armee n'y a joué aucun role, ni pour ni contre le Roi : la garde royale n'a meme pas essayé de la defendre.

La revolution parsane n'est pas non plus une revolte de idees modernes contre la tradition, comme dans la France de 1789, l'Allemagne de 1848, ou la Russie de 1904-1905. Et ce n'est pas davantage une reaction des sentiments nationaux contre la tyrannie

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de lois etrnagers, comme dan l'Espagne de 1810, l'Italie de 1830 á 1866 ou la Hongrie de 1849" (Ibid, p. 11-12). The king – a Qajar-Turkish in race and language maintained himself on the throne with the help of a Russian general, a Cossack Army and "par accord de deux ennemis anglais et russe". And hence, the revolution cannot be regarded as proceeding from a political consciousness or preparedness of the people for full fledged democratic Government.

The nature of the Persian Constitution will be discussed in detail later ; but for the present, the history of the political evolution of Persia upto 1935 is going to be treated here very briefly. The first cabinet including the "two patrician heroes of the revolution" (*Ency. Britan.* Vol. 17, p 596), viz, the Siphadar as Premier and the veteran Bakhtiari chief Sardar Asad as Minister of the Interior, completely failed to solve the internal difficulties of the country that arose over the disbanding of the *Mujahidins*, who were soldiers of fortune. The Nationalists were divided into two parties, the Revolutionists (Inqelabian), and the Moderates. Sir Percy Sykes writes : "Unfortunately by its activity, its violence and its secret organisation, the former party gained the ascendant. Nor were the leaders any wiser. Sirdar-i-Asad intrigued with the Revolutionaries and laid traps for Siphadar ; Taqizada, the leader of the Revolutionary party was anathematized by the *mujtahids* of Kerbala, whom he had unwisely defied, but was supported by the Sirdar. Assasination was employed by the revolutionaries to overawe their opponents. Ultimately Taqizada was forced to leave Teheran and Siphadar found it necessary to resign, as also did the President of the Assembly, who was a moderate" (*A History of Persia*, Vol II, p. 422). The next cabinet formed by the revolutionary party under Mustaufi-ul-Mamalik did not last long as public opinion was against it, and again Siphadar formed a cabinet. The Regency became vacant on the death of Azad-ul-Mulk, and Nasir-ul-Mulk, who was then in England, was elected Regent by a large majority. In 1911, it was decided that foreign guidance was necessary for organising the various state departments, that Americans should reconstruct the financial department, and the Swiss, the police and the gendermerie. In June, 1911 the ex-Shah made an abortive attempt to regain his throne, but his plan was nipped in the bud. The appointment of Mr. Schuster—an American—as financial adviser to the new government was very much resented by the Russian Government who by an ultimatum demanded his

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immediate dismissal. The Majlis refusing to comply with the Russian ultimatum, several thousand Russian troops entered Persia and tried to march upon Teheran. The new Regent, Nasir-ul-Mulk, fearing a catastrophe, called the cabinet and Yeprem Khan, the military leader of the revolutionary party, dissolved the Majlis on December 24, 1911, with their approval, and signified acceptance of the Russian demands. Mr. Schuster was dismissed and the financial administration was carried on with the help of the Belgian customs officers.

Just before the War, the condition of Persia was almost chaotic. There were internal factions, financial instability, political confusions, economic poverty, and external dangers. The National Assembly was not summoned until after war had broken out in Europe. In July, 1914, the young Shah reached majority and was crowned. He summoned the Majlis, and in his speech from the throne declared neutrality of Persia in the Great War. But soon this neutrality was most contemptuously violated by Great Britain, Russia and Turkey whose armies fought on the Persian soil and inflicted considerable damages on property. In March 1918, the British Government tried to impose an agreement upon the Russian Government which would secure recognition of the South Persian Rifles—an organisation made by the British force in Southern Persia, and the maintenance of British troops in Azerbaijan until the end of the War. The Persian Government spiritedly refused all these demands, but after the victory of the Allies, the Shah dismissed the cabinet which was hostile to the British, while the new cabinet of Vosugh-ud-Dowla, friendly to the British, signed the notorious Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919.

The Agreement reiterated the undertaking of the British Government "to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia" (Art. I). The British Government would supply, at the cost of the Persian Government, the services of experts required for the several departments of the Persian administration, on terms to be settled between the two parties (Art. 2), and such officers and munitions for the creation of a uniform force for the establishment of order in the country and on its frontiers (Art. 4). For financing these reforms, the British Government offered to provide or arrange a substantial loan (£ 2, 000, 000 at 7%, redeemable in 20 years) with adequate security in the revenues of the customs or other sources of income of the Persian Government (Art. 4), while by Articles 5 and 6, the British Government agreed to develop communications in Persia, and to set

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up a joint Committee for revising the Persian Customs Tariffs—almost all these conditions reminding one Japan's Agreement with Manchukuo.

After the Armistice, a Persian delegation arrived in Paris Peace Conference and published in a brochure its claims, divided into three parts, viz, (i) political—i.e, abrogation of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, and the withdrawal of consular guards and the abolition of consular courts, which Sir Percy Sykes described as "unpractical visions, in view of the risks that are constantly run by European subjects living in Persia" (Ibid, Vol. II. p. 518); (ii) Territorial Restorations—in the east she claimed Transcaspia, Merv, and Khiva ; in the north-west, Caucasus up to Derbent, including Erivan, the chief centre of the Armenians, and Baku ; in the west, Asia Minor to the Euphrates, including the entire province of Kurdistan, Dierbekr and Mosul ; (iii) Reparations, for the losses to life and property, etc, due to the violation of her neutrality by Russia, Turkey and Great Britain. The delegation was not allowed to put its case even, before the Peace Conference, and Persia came back humiliated, and disgraced, though Great Britain expressed her desire to renounce her claims under the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. The new agreement of 1919 had produced a county-wide agitation against it, and evoked suspicion abroad. It was not put before the League of Nations, and America and France naturally feared that Persia was going to be turned into Great Britain's "private preserve." When the Shah returned to Persia from his European tour, the unpopular cabinet of Vosugh fell and the new anti-British cabinet refused to ratify the Agreement.

Meanwhile the Bolsheviks had overthrown the Government of the Tsar in Russia, and their forces of national liberation had crossed the northern borders of Persia. Their troops numbering over 9000, well-equipped with field artillery and machine guns, defeated the Cossack Brigade in March 1921 and advanced as far as Resht, threatening Teheran. But, suddenly Bolshevik Russia changed her policy, withdrew all the Russian forces from Persia, opened negotiations with the Government of the Shah, denounced the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, returned all territories conquered by the Tsar, and gave up all claims to former Russian loans to Persia, or to extra-territoriality. The new treaty, establishing cordial relations between these two countries was signed at Moscow on Feb. 26, 1921. The exchange of ratifications took place at Teheran on Feb 26, 1922, and the treaty was registered with the League of Nations on 7th. June,

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1922. (Vide—M. Nakhai—*L'Evolution Politique de L'Iran*—pp. 110-112).

On 20th February, 1921, when there was confusion and chaos throughout the country, Reza Khan—a young officer of the Cossack Bigade, marched upon the Capital with an army of 3000 Persian Cossacks, seized the government, arrested the members of Siphadar's cabinet, set up Dr. Zia-ud-Din as the Prime Minister and himself became the Minister of War. On Feb. 26, 1921, the new Cabinet annulled the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, while a treaty with Russia, referred to above, was signed on that very date. Dr. Zia-ud-Din wanted financial assistance from the British to stabilize the budget, but as Reza Khan had already managed to get the Gendermerie transferred from the Department of the Minister of the Interior to the Department of the Minister of War, that is himself, he became too powerful for the Doctor who fled to Baghdad for British protection (Vide—*Contemporary Review*—Feb. 1926—p. 196). The next Prime Minister was Mushir-ud-Dowlah, who also resigned as his policy towards the newspapers was opposed by the Shah. His successor, Khavan-es-Saltaneh also came into conflict with the all-powerful Commander-in-Chief and had to resign. Therefore, Reza Khan himself became the Prime Minister in 1923. By this time, the Shah was also feeling the dominant personality of the Prime Minister too incommodious and left Persia, "apparently in fear of his life," for Europe, where he died in 1930.

In 1924, Persia was almost a Republic for the first time in her history, though not formally, with Reza Khan as its first President. All preparations were complete for declaring Persia a republic, following the example of Turkey. But the abolition of the Caliphate, the disestablishment of Moslem religion and the expropriation of religious endowments created an indignation in the minds of the devoted Shias and a revulsion of feelings against the Ottoman Republic. Reza Khan in sympathy with the feelings of the Ulemas, *Mujtahids* and influential merchants, adroitly changed his policy and declared a republican form of government to be against Shia religion The Majlis, though full of democrats, had great confidence in him and gave him dictatorial powers in 1925. The absentee Shah was deposed on October 31, 1925, by the Majlis, "in the name of the national welfare." On that very date the National Consultative Assembly met and the presiding deputy read the following resolution : "In the name of the welfare

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of the people, the National Consultative Assembly declares the abolition of the Kajar dynasty, and within the limits of the Constitution and other laws, entrusts the Provisional Government to the person of Reza Khan. The determining of the form of the Permanent Government shall be made by a Constituent Assembly which shall, for this purpose, amend articles 36, 37, 38 and 40 of the Supplement to the Constitutional Law." Of the 115 Deputies who were present, 80 voted in favour of, 5 against, this resolution and 30 remained neutral. On the 12th of December, 1925, two hundred and sixty deputies met in the National Constituent Assembly and passed the following resolution by 257 votes for and 3 neutral : "In the name of the people : The National Constituent Assembly herewith commits to Reza Shah, Sirdar-i-Sipah, and his descendants in the male issue, the constitutional monarchy of Iran, the oldest son of a Shah always to be heir-apparent. In case there is no male issue, the Shah himself shall choose his successor who in turn, shall be approved by Parliament. No member of the House of Kajars can ever be a pretender to the throne. The Crown Prince is not to assume the reign until he is twenty-one years old. In case the heir-apparent is a minor, Parliament is to elect a regent but this regent, too, must not be a member of the House of Kajars. The Shah, the heir-apparent, and the regent must take an oath on the constitution before Parliament." On December 15, the new Shah took the oath to defend the constitution and on December 16, he was publicly proclaimed. On Feb. 25, 1926, he appointed his eldest son, Shahpur Mohammed Riza, Valiahd (Crown Prince) of Persia. On 25th April, 1926, accompanied by the Crown Prince, and the Court Minister Teymourtash, Reza Shah entered the Gulistan Palace in Teheran, sat on the "Soldier's Throne" of Nadir, and taking the crown from Teymourtash, put it himself upon his head.

The Constitution of Persia.

The Constitutional Law of Persia is to be found in the following documents : (1) The Imperial Rescript of August 5, 1906, which Sir Percy Sykes describes as the Magna Charta of Persia (Vide-supra Vol. II. p. 403) ; (2) The Constitutional Law of December 30, 1906, containing 51 articles, passed in the reign of Muzaffar-ud-Din ; (3) Supplementary Constitutional Law, containing 107 articles published 8th October, 1907, in the reign of Muhammad Ali, with modifications of articles 36-38 by the Constitutional Law of December 12, 1925 ; (4) The

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Electoral Law of September 9, 1906, containing 33 articles, passed in the reign of Muzaffar-ud-Din ; (5) The New Electoral Law of July 1, 1909, containing a preamble, 63 articles, and a table of the Electoral Districts and their representations—passed in the reign of Muhmmad Ali. As regards the Judicial System of Persia, the followings laws are important : (1) The Principles of the Organisation of Justice" or the Law of 1912 based on articles 71-89 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law of 7th October, 1907. (ii) and the New Judicial Regulations of 1927.

Article 7 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law (henceforth to be referred to as S. C. L) declares that the "principles of the Constitution cannot be suspended either wholly or in part", while Articles 51 of the Constitutional Law (henceforth to be referred to as C. L) makes it obligatory to the reigning king and his successors the "maintenance of these laws and principles." The Constitution (S. C. L, Art. 26) definitely says that "the powers of the realm are all derived from the people ; and the fundamental Law regulates the employment of those powers". In this respect the Persian Constitution is absolutely democratic and just the reverse of the Japanese Constitution in spirit. It definitely emphasises the importance of the separtion of powers into the Legislative, the Executive and the Judiciary. (Art. 27 & 28, S. C. L). Art. 28 says : "The three powers above mentioned shall ever remain distinct and separate from one another".

The King.

At the head of the Constitution stands the king to whom all the executive power belongs in theory. The laws and ordinances are carried out by the Ministers and state officials in the name of the king, but always "in such manner as the Law defines" (Art. 28, S. C. L.). The soverignty is a trust confided by the people to the person of the king (Art. 35 S. C. L.). The Constitutional monarchy is vested by the people "through the intermediary of the Constituent Assembly in the person of His Majesty Reza Shah Pehlavi, and in his male heirs, generation after generation". The right to inherit the throne belongs to the eldest son of the king, whose mother is of Persian origin. If there be no male issue of the king, the nomination of the Crown Prince shall take place on the proposal of the king and with the approbation of the National Assembly on condition that this prince-inheritor does

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not belong to the Qajar family. But if a son be born to the king in the meantime, he will nevertheless, be the legitimate heir to the throne. In case of the decease of the soverign, the Crown Prince is empowered to discharge all royal functions provided he has completed 20 years ; otherwise, a Regent, who must not belong to the Qajar family, shall be elected by the National Assembly. (Art. 36-38 S. C. L). No king can ascend the throne if he has not taken a prescribed oath before the National Assembly, swearing upon the Koran his determination to preserve the independence of the country, to follow the Constitution, to defend the religion and to promote the welfare of the people. The Regent is also bound to take the same oath. The person of the king is inviolable ; the Ministers of State are responsible to both Chambers in all matters. The Persian king can, therefore do no wrong. The decrees and rescripts of the king relating to state affairs will have legal force "only when they are countersigned by the responsible Minister, who is also responsible for the authenticity of such decree or rescript" (Art. 45). The king appoints or dismisses the Ministers, confers titles and honours to the people, is the head of the Army, Navy and Air forces, declares war, concludes peace, makes treaties, can convoke an extraordinary session the National Assembly and the Senate. But the expenses and disbursements of the Court are determined by law and the Royal prerogatives and powers are only those which are expressly mentioned in the S. C. Law. (Art. 46-57 S. C. L.).

The Cabinet.

Ministers of the king are appointed and dismissed by the Royal Decree of the king (Art. 45, S. C. L.). Nobody can be a Minister who is not a Musalman by religion, a Persian by birth, or a Persian subject or who is related to the king by blood. Ministers are responsible to both Houses, both individually "for the affairs specially appertaining to their own Ministry, also collectively responsible to the two Chambers for one another's actions in affairs of a more general character" (Art. 61, S. C. L). Art 63 says that "the honorary title of a Minister is entirely abolished", and Art. 65 says that "The National Consultative Assembly or the Senate can call Ministers to account or bring them to trial". By Art. 67, when a Minister or the entire Cabinet is censored by a vote of no-confidence passed either by the Assembly or the Senate, the Minister or the Cabinet "shall resign his or their ministerial functions." Ministers can be prosecuted by the Assembly or the

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Senate for their delinquencies before the Court of Cassation, in all matters affecting the state, though the determination of such delinquencies will be regulated by a special law. (Arts. 69 & 70 S. C. L). The Ministers have the right to attend and participate in the proceedings of the Assembly (Art. 31, S. C. L.)

For looking into the affairs of the king, there is a Ministry of the Court ; the Minister standing equally in rank with the Cabinet Ministers, enjoys the same privileges, but he cannot participate in the meetings of the Council of Ministers, nor has any responsibility before the House. In 1935, the Cabinet was composed of 8 Ministers and three Under-Secretaries (for Commerce, Agriculture and Industries) who were directly under the direction of the Prime Minister. But in November, 1938, the posts of the Under-Secretaries were abolished and now the Cabinet consists of the following twelve Ministers : Prime Minister, Ministers of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Roads and Communications, War, Justice, Education, Posts and Telegraphs, Commerce, Industry and Mines, and the Director-General of Agriculture. The Prime Minister is chosen by the Shah, while the other Ministers are chosen by the Prime Minister. Each of these Departments is excellently organised. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has got five subdivisions : (1) Cabinet and Cipher division ; (ii) Personal, Inspection and Administrative Tribunal, (iii) Passports, Nationality and Registration ; (iv) Economics ; (v) Archives, Literary and confidential files. Besides these, there are four political departments as follows : First Political Department, in charge of affairs relating to Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq, Egypt and Hedaj—all muslim states ; Second Political Dept. in charge of affairs relating to Soviet Russia, Poland, Baltic States and the Balkan ; Third Political Dept. to deal with European and Asiatic States, America and other parts of the World ; Fourth Political Dept. dealing with Treaties, the League of Nations and the study of International Laws. There are two other departments attached to the Foreign Minister, viz, (1) the Department of Protocol and Ceremony, (2) and the Department of Accounts.

The Ministry of the Interior has a Tourist and Propaganda Department [see—Guide Book to Iran, pp. 51-52—by G. H. Ebtehaj (1935)].

The Ministry of Finance is now functioning very smoothly. It has become very much improved by the labours of Dr. Millspaugh—the American—who was appointed in 1921, and whose service was

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dispensed with in 1927 on account of a vital difference of opinion between Dr. Millspaugh and the Persian Cabinet on a question of responsibility. The Revenue of Iran has increased from 1,250,002,000 rials in 1937 to 1,528,8?2,000 rials in 1938, while the expenditure has also increased from 1,248,037,000 rials in 1937 to 1,527,018,000 rials in 1938. (80 rials = £ 1; 100 rials = 1 pehlavi gold coin), The gold standard adopted by Iran in 1930, was suspended by a law of March 31, 1932. Foreign exchange is controlled and regulated by the State ; while the Foreign debt of Iran outstanding on April 8, 1938, was only £991, 060.

The Ministry of Communications must be congratulated on its completion of the great Trans-Iranian Railway which runs for 808 miles from Bandar Shah on the Caspian Sea to Bandar Shahpur on the Persian Gulf, after ten years of continuous labour and a total cost of £28,500,000. The money was entirely raised from "internal resources, largly a monopoly tax on tea and sugar ; it was thus a symbol of Persian independence" (vide—The Annual Register, 1938—p.281).

The Ministry of War has brought the Army to the highest pitch of efficiency, while the total peace-time strength amounts to over 40,000. Besides, Iran possesses a small fleet in the Persian gulf and not a negligible air force. The Majlis has passed the compulsory Military Service Law in 1927. The service beings at 21 and lasts for 2 years, but graduates of high schools and universities serve only 18 and 12 months respectively. Article 106 of S. C. L. requires the military expenditure every year to be approved by the National Assembly, while Art 107 says that no foreign troops may be employed in the service of the state except in accordance with the Law. The military cannot be deprived of their rights, ranks or functions except in accordance with Law.

The Ministry of Education has got a very difficult task in educating the public, in as much as Persia, some decades ago, was full of religious prejudices and fanaticism. The number of schools has increased from 612 in 1921 to 4939 in 1937, while the number of pupils has increased from 55,000 in 1921 to 273, 680 in 1937. The courses include teachings in the sciences, history, art, literature, medicine, religion and law. There are some military colleges staffed with foreign experts.

The Legislature.

At present the Persian Legislature is unicameral, but article 43 (C. L.) definitely says that "there shall be constituted another

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Assembly, entitled the Senate, consisting of sixty members, the sessions of which, after its constitution, shall be complementary to the sessions of the National Consulative Assembly." We shall discuss here the constitution and powers of both these Houses as prescribed by the Constitutional Laws.

The Upper House or the Senate shall consist of 60 members, 30 of whom shall be nominated by the King, 15 elected by the people of Teheran and 15 by those of the provinces. The members shall be chosen from amongst the learned, well-informed and respected persons of Persia. The regulations of the Senate must be approved by the Assembly (i.e., Lower House). So long as the Senate has not been convoked a bill shall receive the Royal Assent and become an Act on being approved by the Assembly. The two Houses have almost equal power, excepting in the money bills, which belong exclusively to the Assembly. In other bills, consent of both Houses is necessary. When the Assembly is not in session, the deliberations of the Senate are ineffcetive. In case of disagreement between the two Houses, the disputed proposal shall be reconsidered by a new Assembly composed of members of the Senate and members of the Assembly elected in equal moieties by members of the two Assemblies. The decision of the new Assembly is only recommendatory, and in case it is not accepted, and the King supports the view of the Lower House, the latter will be effective. But if the King also does not support it, and the Senate, by a majority of two-third, wants with the approval of the Cabinet, the dissolution of the Lower House, the latter will be dissolved by an Imperial Command and new elections shall take place within one month in Teheran, and three months in the provinces. After the arrival of all the members, the disputed proposal, if approved by the new Lower House, shall receive the Royal assent and become Law. (Arts. 43-49, C. L, and Art. 27, S. C. L.)

The Assembly—The Lower House represents the whole people of Persia. The number of deputies has been fixed at 136 by a law of October 22, 1911 but Art 4 of C. L. says that in case of necessity the number may be raised to 200. The tenure of the House is for 2 whole years calculated from the day when all the representatives from the provinces shall have arrived in Teheran. Members must be between 30 and 70 years of age and have the right of re-election. By Art 6, the members of Teheran are empowered to constitute a valid Assembly during the period preceding the arrival of the pro-

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vincial delegates. At least two-thirds of the members of the Assembly must be present for opening debates and three-fourths when the vote is taken. A majority is obtained "only when more than half of those present in the Assembly record their votes". The Assembly shall make its own internal rules and regulations, and even the periods of session and recess. On the opening of the Assembly, an Address shall be presented to the King, to which a reply shall be given by His Majesty. Members must take an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign and swear on the Koran to preserve the law of the realm and promote the welfare of Persia. The deliberations of the Assembly shall be open and public and the publications of its proceedings are absolutely free. (Arts. 1-15, C. L.). The Assembly has the right to initiate all legislalations that it deems necessary and to approve or withhold all measures that are submitted before it by the Ministers. It has all power to create, modify, complete or abrogate any law, subject to the approval of the Senate and the Royal assent. Over financial matters, the budget, fiscal arrangements, "the acceptance or rejection of all incidental and subordinate expenditure", etc., the Assembly has the exclusive and decisive power. Without its approval no portion of national resources can be held or transferred (Art. 22, C. L.), no concession to any public Company can be given, no state loans can be contracted (Arts. 24, 25, C. L.). As regards administrative powers the Assembly has the right to demand explanations on any matter from the responsible Minister, which should not be withheld without plausible reason, or for a long time. (Art, 42, C. L.) Treaties and covenants shall be subject to the approval of the Assembly. Should a minister fail to give a satisfactory account of any affair, the Assembly may demand his dismissal from the Royal Presence and if his treason be established in the Court of Cassation, he shall not be employed in the service of the State (Art. 29, C. L.). The Assembly can make direct representations to the King by means of a Committee consisting of the President and six of its Members. When a Member of the Assembly proposes a measure, and at least fifteen members approve its discussion, the President of the Assembly may send the measure to one of the Committees of the House for preliminary investigation, on whose report a discussion shall take place in the Assembly and the responsible Minister must take note of it. Private individuals have the right to submit any criticisms or complaints to the Petition Department of the Archives of the Assembly, and the Ministry or the

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Assembly shall take note of it, if the matter concerns them. The President of the Assembly, either personally or on the demand of ten Members of the Assembly, can hold a secret conference in which only the selected members of the House and any Minister may be present. The deliberation of such conference will not be disclosed to the public without the consent of the Minister, or the President. The Assembly has the right to reject any measure of the Ministry, but such rejection must be signified by some outward sign (Arts. 32-42, C. L.). The Members of the Assembly can not be molested by any body on any pretext or excuse whatsoever. Even in cases of crime or misdemeanour and the member being arrested *flagrante delicto* no punishment can be inflicted upon him without the cognizance of the Assembly (Art. 12, C. L.). But one person can not at one and the same time be member of the two Houses, and a member ceases to be a member when he accepts any lucrative post under the government.

For facility of work and sound criticism of measures, the members of the Assembly elect eight Parliamentary Committees of which the Legislative, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Economics are most important. All legislative projects whether ordinary or urgent are introduced over the signature of the Prime Minister and the Minister concerned, and, after reference to the appropriate Committee for consideration and amendment, are presented to the Majlis for final discussion and sanction. Art. 101 of S. C. L. authorises the establishment of a Financial Commission whose members shall be appointed by the Assembly. The Commission is empowered to inspect and analyse accounts, liquidate the accounts of all debtors and creditors of the Treasury and to determine the legality of all expenditures, so that " no item of expenditure fixed in the Budget exceeds the amount specified or is changed or altered and that each item is expended in the proper manner"; and to submit to the Assembly a complete statement of the accounts of the kingdom, accompanied by its own observations.

The Judiciary

Until the first decade of the 20th century, there was in Persia no division between judicial and executive functions. But as a protest against the encroachments of the muftis on temporal affairs and also for better government of the people, the common law (qauun-i-urf) of Persia gradually grew up side by side with the religious law

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(*qunun-i-shari*). To the latter was left "public worship, the law of marriage, family and inheritance, vows, in part also pious foundations (wakf), all fields which in the popular mind are more or less closely connected with religion" (*Encyclopædia of Islam*—Joseph Schacht). Commercial Law, Constitutional and Criminal Law, law relating to war and taxation, etc., came within temporal jurisdiction and were moulded in accordance with local customs, needs of the situation, equity and prescriptions. But in modern Persia positive law is very quickly superseding the religious and customary laws, the Sharia Courts being virtually restricted to matrimonial cases and to the functions of the Court of Wards. The Judges of the Sharia Court are at present nominated by the Minister of Justice, and as Sir A. T. Wilson says, "Religious Courts act as experts expressing views to other ordinary Civil Courts, on whom devolved the duty of giving judgment" (*Persia*—p. 227).

The Judicial system of Iran is based on the Law of 1912, entitled "The Principles of the Organisation of Justice", formed essentially on the French model and on the foundations of Articles 71-89 of the S.C.L. of 1907. By this law, the Courts of Iran are classified into two classes—general and special, the latter dealing with special questions, commercial, military, religious, etc. The general Courts of the lowest degree are the district courts presided over by Justices of the Peace and dealing with claims up to 400 tomans. The next higher courts are those of the First Instance, which are also, since 1928, presided over by a single judge, established mostly in towns and having juridiction over several district courts. Above these stand courts of Appeal in Teheran, Tabriz, Shiraz, Kermanshah, Ispahan, Meshed, Kerman and Ahwaz. These courts are composed of three or four judges. The highest court of Iran is the Court of Cassation (Art. 75, S.C.L.) which "shall not deal with any case of first instance, except in cases in which Ministers are concerned". A special section of the Court of Cassation hears complaints against judges. Wilson says that "the districts having courts of First Instance or Courts of Appeal had also a Parquet presided over by the Attorney-General, under whom came his assistant and investigators" (Ibid. p. 223). Besides these courts, there is a system of circuit courts. In Persian jurisprudence, there is a very unhappy dualism, in as much as Art.2. and 71 of the S. C. Law definitely declare that "at no time must any legal enactment of the sacred Assembly be at variance with the sacred

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principles of Islam", and a committee of five *ulemas* can "reject and repudiate wholly or in part, any such proposal which is at variance with the Sacred Laws of Islam, so that it shall not obtain the title of legality." In Ecclesiastical matters, the decision of the *Mujtahids* is also declared to be final. But in actuality, though with doubtful legal validity, modern Persian legislations are directly encroaching upon the domain of the *Mujtahids*. The Corpus of Persian legislation chiefly consists of the following : The Penal Code, enforced in 1925, based on the French Law with Islamic limitations ; the Code of Criminal Procedure, based on the Russian Code of 1910 ; the Civil Code, containing 955 articles, based on Islamic principles but chiefly influenced by French and Egyptian legislations ; the Code of Civil Procedure (1912) based on the Russian Code of 1910 ; Commercial Code, enforced in 1925, based on French principles.

Foreigners in Persia used to enjoy rights of extra-territoriality also known as capitulations, since the treaty of Turkomanchi in 1827. But in May, 1928, these special rights came to an end, uncoditionally with respect to Russia and France, but subject to the following conditions, with reference to Great Britain : that foreigners in no case should be tried by Persian religious courts ; that international law should form the basis of relations of Persia with Great Britain ; that in civil or criminal cases, in which a foreigner is involved, only written evidence should be admitted ; that no foreigner may be arrested or imprisioned without a warrant except in most serious cases ; that they should be given bail and should be produced before a magistrate within 24 hours, and that no unfair discrimination should be made against foreigners in the matter of taxation (Vide-Sir A. T. Wilson—*Persia*—pp. 246-51. A note from the Persian Government to Sir R. Clive, dated May, 10, 1928).

The Courts of Iran are supervised by the Ministry of Justice whose administrative side consists of an Inspection Department, a Translation Dept. (translating foreign codes into Persian and *vice versa*) and a Standing Commission entrusted with the responsibility for codification. The number of Courts has been considerably increased and where Courts of First Instance do not exist, cases up to 1,000 tomans can be now taken up by the District Courts. The salaries of Judges have been increased and judicial impartiality and independence assured.

The Constitution, following the Fundamental Rights of the people

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in other states, guarantees "equality of rights before the Law" to the people of Iran. Their lives, property, homes and honour are protected from every kind of interference (Arts. 8 & 9 S.C.L.). No one can be arrested summarily, except in cases of crime or misdemeanour, without a written authority of the President of the Tribunal of Justice. No one can be punished except in accordance with law. Freedom of residence, security of property, "acquisition and study of all sciences, arts and crafts, except in so far as is forbidden by ecclesiastical law," promotion of education at the cost of the Government, freedom of publications, excepting of heretical books and anti-Islamic matters, freedom of societies and associations (anjumans and ijtima'at), freedom of postal correspondence, and secrecy of telegraphic correspondence—are all guaranteed (Arts. 10-23, S.C.L.). Foreign subjects may become naturalized in accordance with law, while Government Officials excepting the Ministers, can be proceeded against without special authorisation. In the matter of taxes no distinction shall be made amongst the individuals who compose the nation, and no money can be realised from the people except in accordance with laws duly passed by the Parliament (Arts. 24, 25, 97, 98, S.C L.)

The rigour of the ecclesiastical law of Iran had kept the wings of individualism unduly clipped. But with Reza Shah's rise to power the sphere of individual liberty has not only widened, but has also become veritably real. In 1927 the compulsory Military service Law was passed which undoubtedly strengthened the nation and secured individual liberty. By a law of September, 14, 1931, the right to divorce has been permitted to women. As Filmer correctly points out, "By fixing the husbands' responsibility towards his wife by providing for the custody of minor children, by establishing broader safeguards for her property rights, the law went far in affording a Moslem woman a measure of rights which for centuries had been denied her" (*The Pageant of Persia*, (1937) p. 371). This law also diminished the authority of religious courts and required that all marriage contracts and acts of divorce be registered with a Civil official. The marriage law of 1935, again, fixed the one minimum legal age for women at fifteen and for men at eighteen in contravention of the Koranic prescription which fixed them at nine and fifteen, respectively. Co-education has been introduced in several schools and colleges, notably the Medical and Legal institutions. In June 28 1935, at a tea-party, the cabinet Ministers assembled together with

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their wives. The wife and the daughter of the Shah, come out in the public without veil, while thousands of women frequent the cinemas, restaurants, etc. In August 1935, all high sounding titles were abolished ; those which were retained being "His Imperial Majesty" for the Shah; "Excellency" for high officials; "aga" or 'mister' for men and "khanom" or madam for women. Relgious toleration has reached such a stage in Iran, that the laws of December 28, 1935, prescribing a uniform dress for all male Iranians (European coat, vest and trousers) and of 1935, repealing the Pehlavi hat by the European headgear, passed unprotested, while the Babists and the Bahaists are rapidly increasing their numbers.

Several decades ago Lord Curzon conld write that "Turkistan, Afghanisthan, Transcaspia, Persia, to me, they are the pieces of a chess-board upon which is being played out a game for the dominion of the world"; and indeed, in the year 1919, that dream was almost realised. But then, old Persia reasserted herself once again; and the genius of Reza Khan and the conjuncture of strange Anglo-Russian conflict have again brought Persia to the forefront of international politics. The government is a peculiar national socialism, with state monoply of imports, exports, foreign exchange and state-controlled private companies. It is also a monarchy, where the Shah is enstrusted with comprehensive power, "that of an army leader, of a statesman and of a diplomat"; where the majority of 136 deputies is made up of members of the "Targhi", a government party"; where as Mahammed Essad Bey points out, the Assembly is "almost exclusively composed of representatives of the ruling classes and the leading families, with the broad mass of the people taking practically no active part in political life "(Ibid.p. 216); where provincial governors are invariably still now high army officers; and where "like parliament the Press takes its inspiration from the government and rarely attacks an administration on any ground, never on grounds of political affiliation" (*Political Hand Book of the World*, 1939, p. 146). But Iran is also a country where constitutional government originted for the first time in Asia, where democracy is not only a name but a realty; where the theory of separation of powers, individual and collective responsibility of the Ministers, constitutional monarchy and the safeguarding of the fundamental rights of man—are all co-operating towards the evolution of a state that might well become the political ideal of the East.

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India's Contact with Japan.

By A. K. Mukerji.

Editor : Eastern Economist.

Indo-Japanese Cultural Link.

Nearly fourteen hundred years have elapsed since Buddhist Scriptures were first introduced into Japan. We find to-day that the Japanese are ever eager to acknowledge their great cultural debt to India. Such Indian ideas as *Nirvana*, *Retribution Metempsychosis* and *Benevolence*, which have welded with the native concepts, have had great influence on Japanese thought, customs and manners.

In addition to *Buddhas* and *Bodhisattvas*, a multitude of images may be found in the temples of the older Japanese sects, most of which are either the guardians of the Buddhist faith or disciples or spiritual beings with which the Mantrayana or Shingon sects peopled the spheres. With very few exceptions, all these deities and personages are of Indian origin, though Japanese attributes and legends have collected round some of them.

Of guardian deities, the principals are the two Kings and the Four Deva Kings. The former are represented by two gigantic figures of ferocious aspect, which are to be found at the outer gate of almost every temple in Japan. The four kings are generally placed in the inner courts of temples and are figures holding weapons in their hands and trampling demons underfoot.

As a counterpoise to these well-meaning but alarming guardians of the faith Japanese temples often contain images of human saints or *Rakan* (arhats) much after the style of the early Indian temples.

In fact, one of the most remarkable aspects of Japanese Buddhism is that Japan has preserved many Indian figures which are either lost or unknown in China, through which the religion was introduced into this country. This is illustrated by Kishi-Mojin and also by several Indian deities of whom we hear nothing or very little in Pali literature but who are still worshipped in Japan.

Another Indian deity who has several temples in Japan is Benten, that is *Sarasvati*, the goddess of eloquence and riches, who is also

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connected with islands as is testified by her shrines at the Pond at Ueno, Tokyo, and also at Enoshima near Yokohama.

Even the Seven Gods of Luck, though hardly to be connected with the serious Buddhism, show the Indian origin or inspiration. Daikoku is apparently *Mahakala* and *Hotei* is a strange transformation of the Bodhisattva Maitreya generally represented as an enormously fat and hilarious cleric.

Besides this great influence on the religious and philosophical life of the Japanese, Indian culture affected considerably the themes and the diction of her literary works produced between 800 and 1100 A. D. and even in later times, till nearly the end of the nineteenth century.

Indian influence has also affected Japanese social institutions, educational system and even social pastimes. The Terakoya or private school, for example, had mostly Zen priests for masters, and these schools, which existed in Japan until the modern educational system was established, appear to be the copy of a similar institution in the ancient India. The "Goningumi" or "five-men groups", the smallest units in local self-government system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were organised on the model of the ancient Indian *Panchayat.* The family system, responsible for the cohesive quality of the Japanese people, had some connection with the ancient India, and Japanese still chant Buddhist scriptures at memorial services as requiems for the departed. The most popular indoor games in Japan are perhaps "Go" and "Shogi", both of which had their origins far in the olden India. Among those Indian influences, it is surprising fact that many Japanese words of Indian origin are still in use of the present Japan.

It is natural then the Japanese, whose code of *Bushido* does not permit them to forget a debt of gratitude, should feel a sincere attachment for their first cultural mother, India. With the years Japan has modernized herself, basing her technical civilization on the patterns of the West, but her cultural and philosophical attitudes have changed little, remaining true to the spiritual culture which she adopted and evolved for herself.

That India has recognized the harmonious manner in which Japan has assimilated the Western techniques without impairing her native culture and ideals can be observed in the increasing number of Indian students enrolling at Japanese Universities. These students, steeped in the age-old culture of their mother country are finding in Japanese institutions of learning some return for the ancient lore which their

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forefathers introduced into Japan. Japan welcomes these sons of India and earnestly hopes that they will bind even further the cultural ties which have always existed between the two countries.

Muslim traders from India have a place of worship of their own in Kobe. The credit for originating the idea of the mosque must go to Mr. M. A. K. Bochia, to whose courageous and optimistic outlook the Muslim Mosque in Kobe must ever bear testimony. More than half the financial burden of the undertaking fell on Mr. Ferozzuddin of Calcutta. But for his generosity the Muslim community here would not have been able to have the artistic and magnificient building, which may now be said to be adorning the city of Kobe.

Maulvi Aftabuddin Ahmed, Imam of the Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England spoke in opening the Kobe Mosque : "Praise be to God, the Originator, the Maintained and the Law-Giver of the whole universe ; He who never sleeps or slumbers ; He who never tries or weakens ; He who is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth : He who is the First and the Last, the Apparent and Hidden ; Whose benevolence is all embracing and who has prescribed Mercy for Himself ; Who has sent us His Holy Prophet Muhammad (May the Peace and blessing of Allah be upon his Soul)—to teach us to the Path of Allah to whom belongs all that is in the Heavens and the Earth.....

In opening this mosque we are opening a House in which God's Light will shine for ever in the hearts of man whom neither trade nor gain keeps back from participating in the Light of God.....

"The Japanese themselves are great merchants and manufacturers. Who knows but that God may intend them to spread His own Light. Whatever His will may be it is our duty to kindle the torch of Islam in this land, and to keep it alive for ever. The Light of God is shining now in this House of God. Let us thank God and ask for His blessings on His holy Prophet Muhammad and us all. Amen".!

The mosque in Tokyo celebrated its completion in the anniversary of the Founder's birth in May, 1938. Its construction was made possible chiefly through the generosity of Japanese sympathizers for the cause of Islam.

Commercial Link Between India and Japan

Mr. J. N. Tata and his son, Mr. R. D. Tata, of India, went to Japan in 1889—1890 in connection with the spinning industry, which

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had been started in Japan quite a long time before. Japan imported a considerable quantity of yarn from India, for she could not manufacture all the yarn she needed. It was no time for Japan to depend upon the hand-spinning of the old folk or children. Hand-spinning was quite out of date. So machine spinning was started in Japan, The first spinning mill was built in Sangenya of Osaka and soon several other companies were organised at different places in the country, all on a larger scale than the first. The spinning industry of Japan may be said to have originated at Sangenya and at Miye of Ise Province. The operation of these spinning companies naturally made it necessary to import raw cotton. Japan had some cotton produced in the country, such as was called Moka Cotton. But it was in such an insignificantly small quantity that Chinese cotton was purchased. It was of so inferior quality, however, that Japan's eyes then turned to India, the land of raw cotton and spinning in the Orient. An investigation of India and her spinning was now felt necessary, when Mr J. N. Tata and his son went over to Japan and they were approached for raw cotton.

Another difficulty presented itself now. Cotton had to be brought over by steamer. The Oriental lines were then operated by three shipping companies ; namely, the P. & O., and an Italian and an Austrian line, the first mentioned company almost monopolizing the services to Japan. Freight was quoted at Rs. 17 or more per ton of cotton to Japan. This was unbearably high, but they would not take less. Just at this juncture, Mr. J. N. Tata came over on a visit to Japan, with the object of opening a new shipping service between India and Japan. He offered to share fifty fifty in the business. The P. & O. was so overbearing that Mr. Tata could not operate a service by himself. An arrangement was made with him by Mr. Masazumi Morioka, then president of the N. Y. K., Mr. (later Viscount) Eiichi Shibusawa, Mr. (later Baron) Rempei Kondo, Mr. Masayoshi Kato, Mr. Masabumi Asada and some other leading businessmen and the Japanese spinners guaranteed an annual shipment of 50,000 bales. Naturally, the P. & O. offered keen competition by absurdly reducing their freight from 17 to 1½, until a subsidy was granted by the Japanese Government in aid of the competitive service of the N. Y. K. The P. & O. saw the inadvisability of maintaining such competition ; it came to an end and the freight was carried at a reasonable rate. The joint operation between N. Y. K. and Mr. Tata came an end three

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years after, and the service fell into the sole hands of the former. No competition is possible in these days in this service, but such was the state of things forty years ago, and co-operation between India and Japan was in this way crowned with success.

While the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was in force, Japan was bound in her action by special political relations towards India, but upon its revocation on the initiative of Great Britain after the World War was over, these special relations naturally died of themselves, and Japan entered into a new significant relation, economic and financial, with continental India, as much as with China, her big market in the East, which has been internally disturbed with political agitation, to the great impediment of our friendship and co-operation with that republic. So long as one country retains a trade or economic relation with another, mutual progress, as well as friendly relations, is a matter of first consequence, and in such a country as Japan, which has a limited market at home for her commodities, it is vitally important to extend her market abroad, as much as possible, in order that loss caused by dullness or crisis in one part of the market may be made up for by gain in another. Needless to say, such extension of the market depends upon its extent, prospect and other circumstances. India, for instance, presents several economic questions of an international nature, such as that of the cotton industry. The Indian market has been for many years under the control of British commodities, so that Japanese goods will find it hard to cultivate a new field in India. With a population of over 350 millions, however, she fell as a market for Japanese commodities only behind the U. S. A., and China till a few years ago, but she has recently made such a remarkable progress that she is now surpassed only by U. S. A. so far her foreign trade is concerned. What then is the condition of Japan's trade with India to which is mainly attributed the first development of her marine transportation? What is Japan's situation in Indian trade in comparison with her trade with America and China.

In 1877 Japan's trade with India was no more than 1% of her total foreign trade, but it showed such a prodigious stride that in 1917 it recorded no less than 12%. America showed an increase from 13% in 1877 to 31% in 1917, which gives her the first position in Japan's foreign trade. China comes next with a fall in percentage from 21% in 1877 to 17% in 1917, showing comparatively slow progress. India held the third position, next to the U. S. A. and China but her

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position in Japan's foreign trade lies not so much in her position as the third largest importer of Japanese commodities as in the rapid progress she made to put herself equal in percentage with China, till in 1932 India was ahead of China, becoming the second largest customer of Japan, which position India held down to 1937.

Japan's trade with India, which made a phenomenal progress recording an increase in quantity of no less than 1457 times as much as in value in 1937 as in 1877 shows an increase in percentage from 1% in 1877 to 11% in 1936 of Japan's total export trade, and she falls only behind the U. S. A., while Japan's imports increased from 191 thousands in 1877 to 449,486 thousands in 1937, or by 3353 times. While Japan has excess imports in her trade with U. S. A. and China, the case is reversed in her trade with India, for Japan imported from India more than she exported to India for a long time and her import excess from 1900 to 1937 was no less prodigious than 4 billion yen, though in 1932 and 1933 Japan exported a little more to India than she imported from India for the first time in her Indian trade, only to see an excess import of Y30,008, 826 in 1935, Y112, 901, 553 in 1936 and Y150, 119,733 in 1937.

A short history of Indo-Japanese relationship to-day

In September, 1902, over a score of the Japanese who had been to India, or who took special interest in India, with a few Indian residents in Japan, met together in Tokyo and as a result of this meeting a club called the Japan-India Club was organised, with the chief object of promoting friendship between India and Japan. This club was the beginning of the Indo-Japanese Association.

With a view to coping with the national development of the country and also to meeting the increasing demand for business extension, the Japan-India Club was reorganized under the title of the Indo-Japanese Association. The late Viscount Gomi Nagaoka was the first President, with Sir Claude MacDonald, British Ambassador to Japan, as adviser. The inauguration of the Association took place at the Peer's Club, Tokyo, December, 1903.

But the rupture of diplomatic relations between Japan and Russia in 1904 forced the Association relunctantly to suspend operations. A foreign newspaper ascribed a political significance to the existence of the Indo-Japanese Association and it seemed advisable to limit its activities to the mutual benefit of its members.

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In 1906, the Association resumed its active work upon the restoration of peace between Japan and Russia, In June, the same year, President Viscount Nagaoka died and was succeeded by Count (Later) Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, Sir Claude MacDonald remaining as Adviser. The Association gradually increased its activities.

The economic relations of the world showing remarkable development, the Association extended its outlook in 1914 to include within the scope of its work the Dutch Indies, Siam, French Indo-China, the Philippine Islands and the South Seas.

On February 10th, 1916, and the amalgamation of the Dutch Japanese and Indo-Japanese Association was effected. The former had been organised in 1912 for the betterment and promotion of friendly relations between Japan and Netherlands and her possessions, and for the development of Japan's trade with South Seas. The union of the two Associations augmented the membership of the Indo-Japanese Association, which now found itself on a firmer basis than ever.

President Marquis Okuma died in January, 1922, and Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa, Vice-president, and Marquis Nobutsune Okuma, a Councillor of the Association and heir to the much-lamented Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, were elected President and Vice-President, respectively, With the new staff, the Association was now ready for the new action when in September 1923, the great earthquake visited Tokyo and its vicinity reducing to ashes the library, samples, reference books, and reports of investigations, which were the results of the most elaborate efforts of many years on the part of the Association.

Through the courtesy of one of our members, the Association established a temporary office at the Community Center of Tokyo and the work of reconstruction was at once started. A new Executive Committee was organised in October 1924, by some of the prominent leaders in business and learning, who accepted directorships at the request of Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa, President and offered their assistance and co-operation. At the general meeting held in November, the same year, a plan was decided upon for the extension of our work.

We were taking effort for our own resuscitation, we extended every help to the Indian refugees of the great earthquake. The disaster killed several residents but some of those who escaped went to Kobe and others returned to India. The Association provided means for the relief of those who remained in Japan. The Association

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helped many an Indian student in the pursuit of his study in Japan, and several Indians received technical training in industry by being admitted into factories through the Association, though to our great regret we find it impossible nowadays to render assistance in this line on account of keen competition. Indian tourists are no less welcome. When, for instance, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore came to Japan on a visit, the Association made arrangement for his visits, receptions and lectures.

In 1926 we established the Indo-Japanese Commercial Museum at Calcutta as intermediary in our trade with India. The museum had over four hundred varieties of Japanese samples exhibited and did pretty good work helping business transaction and settling claims between Japanese and Indian traders, as the Association acted as an instrument of introducing commodities between India and Japan. But the Museum was abolished in 1937 after being operated over 11 years.

Upon the strength of the unanimous approval given at the general meeting held in 1924, preparations went steadily on for the restoration and development of the Association. Some new members were added to the Executive Committee and another committee was appointed for the extension of work. A plan was made for the raising a fund and the subscriptions began in August 1925, with a comparatively satisfactory result inspite of the depressed condition of business. We were pretty well prepared for new activities when great loss befell the Association in the sad demise of Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa, President, which took place on the Nov. 11, 1931. It was such a great blow to the Association that some of our plans for new activities had to be put off. Marquis Nobutsune Okuma was elected President in the place of the lamented Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa. Mr. Kenji Kodama being elected Vice-President.

Japan supplies India with her products cheap, much cheaper than any other foreigner supplies. She always keeps fair play in her trade and never sells any of her commodities by dumping, of which she is falsely accused, for her national efficiency and systematic and disciplined labour account for extraordinary inroad into foreign markets. But India raised the tariff walls higher and higher against the importation of Japanese goods under the pretext of protecting her domestic industry. When the tariff question came up in 1927, the Association sent long cablegrams, in the name of Viscount Eiichi

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Shibusawa, President and Marquis Nobutsune Okuma, Vice-President of the Association, to the Indian Government, the leading newspaper offices, influential leaders of India, including the Speaker and President of the Legislative Assembly and party leaders, strongly protesting against the discrimination attempted at Japanese exports. The Association kept close watch over the development of the problem, and every time when any sign of discrimination against Japanese goods was noticed, the Association made a strong protest. In 1933, the Indo-Japanese Commercial Treaty was abrogated by the Indian Government and subsequently a discriminatory tariff was declared. The result was that the Indo-Japanese Commercial Conference was held at Simla and later at Delhi, India and the Association sent Mr. Iwao Nishi, President of the Indo-Japanese Commercial Museum, so that he might co-operate with the Japanese delegation. Thanks to the conciliatory attitude on the part of the delegates of both countries, the Conference arrived at a peaceful conclusion and the two countries found themselves in amicable relations of commerce.

The second Indo-Japanese Conference was held at New Delhi in July, 1937, to revise the Agreements arrived at between India and Japan at the first Conference. It lasted till Mar. 12 when a new agreement was arrived at between the delegates of both countries. Mr. Nishi, President of the Commercial Museum, Calcutta, attended the Conference as adviser. Simultaneously with the second Indo-Japanese Commercial Conference, another Conference was going on between the delegates of Japan and Burma, which was separated from India in April, 1937, and the agreement was provisionally signed between the two delegations at New Delhi on Mar. 1, 1937.

In 1930, when a great earth-quake visited Burma, the Association raised a relief fund for the benefit of the earthquake refugees. In January 1934, another great earthquake took place in the north-eastern part of India. It was much severer than that of 1930, killing several thousands of people and the Association again collected some money in aid of the sufferers, Marquis Okuma, our President, appealed to the public by broadcasting a lecture on the miseries of the earth-quake, the collection amounting in both cases to tens thousands Yen.

As is stipulated in the Constitution, the Association aims at the promotion of friendly relations between Japan and British India and

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other southern countries of Asia, and for the realization of this object we have a new plan of activities as outlined below :—

Collection of materials for investigation :—The Association will send investigators to India and other southern countries of Asia with the special object of thoroughly studying and investigating conditions in these countries. The results of their investigations will be published from time to time, in the journal for distribution among our members.

Exchange of results and materials of investigations :— The Association will keep a close connection with the Governments, banks, commercial firms and other public institutions in Japan, India and other southern countries of Asia for the purpose of exchanging with them the results of its investigations for the reports and other issues of their researches for mutual information and reference.

Library :—Our library, which contained quite a large number of books, was totally destroyed by the earthquake, 1923, and we are preparing for a new library, which will be provided with principal books and leading newspapers and magazines published in India and other southern countries of Asia. They will be classified with catalogues and indices for the convenience of investigators.

Social Room :—We shall have a social-room to be used free of charge of our members who may desire to exchange information on matters relating to India and other southern countries of Asia.

Lodging accomodation :—We hope to provide lodging accomodations for the benefit of those residents who have come from India and other southern countries of Asia to make their stay in Tokyo as agreeable and as pleasant as possible and to afford them every facility in business and study.

The journal to be issued monthly :—The Journal hitherto issued two or three times a year irregularly, will be published monthly in order to give greater facilities to the members.

Public Reports :—(a) Public reports will be issued from time to time on various subject (b) Information will be supplied free of charge when requested and (c) Public lectures will be held regularly in Tokyo and at times in the local Provinces.

Financial Standing to be investigated :—On request we shall investigate into the financial standing of those who are engaged

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in trade between Japan, India and other southern countries of Asia.

Advisers in Industry : For Japanese engaged in various branches of industry in India and other southern countries of Asia, we will offer materials for investigations and be equipped to answer inquiries and so aid them in business and investigation.

Assistance to tourists and sight-seeing parties : We will undertake the conduct of tourists and sight-seeing parties in Japan and India and other southern countries of Asia.

Commercial Museum : Now that the Indo-Japanese Commercial Museum operated at Calcutta, 1926-37, has been abolished, we are planning to have a commercial museum in the chief cities and towns in Japan, India and other southern countries of Asia for the purpose of exhibiting samples of principal products and staple commodities of these countries. A circulating museum, if found necessary and desirable, is a part of our plan.

Education and Training: A special department will be started in Association for training Japanese who may desire to be qualified for activities in India and other southern countries of Asia. Preliminary education or training will be given, when needed, to those who may come in search of education of technical learning in Japanese schools.

The Object of the Indo-Japanese Association

India is one of the oldest countries in the World and has a population of about four hundred millions. The two parts, Further India and Nearer India, including in these British India and the French and Dutch territories make up one extensive region with homogeneous natural characteristics. History tells that Japan owes much to India in regard to religion, science, and arts. When now we consider the matter in the light of present economic conditions, it appears that there are many things commercial, industrial etc, in regard to which India and Japan need each other's help. Such historic relations and such mutual economic interests should lead Oriental countries into more friendly contact.

The Indo-Japanese Association takes upon itself, so far as it lies, to promote friendship between the two countries, and promises to provide every posssible facility and opportunity to help both peoples to work in concert whenever investigations have to be made with regard to commerce, industry, religion, science or art. If, therefore, our Association shall fortunately succeed even to degree in carrying out of

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its aims, the relations between Japan and India will be strengthened, and the result on the one hand, will be the advancement of the prosperity and happiness of both peoples, and on the other hand, a contribution will have been made towards the peace of the world and the progress of mankind. Especially if we cosider the Japanese Empire, it may be said that she in her peaceful national policy, is bound to open a great market of ample wealth and prosperity necessary for her economic development in future.

Those who sympathise with the aims and objects of the Asscia-tion are respectfully requested to join and help us to accomplish the aspiration of this organization.

Indo-Japanese Trade Prospects

Neither Japan nor British India has been satisfied with the existing Indian-Japanese trade treaty.

The import of raw cotton by Japan greatly decreased due to the inactivity of Japanese importers of raw cotton, discouraged by the Sino-Japanese conflict. The inactivity has been particularly remark-able this year.

However, this was the situation just before the outbreak of the European war. Now the problem is quite different. The world political situation has greatly changed compared with that just before the war. The Indian-Japanese Trade Conference will surely be affected by the recent world political condition. At least, the British Government will not be positive in interfering with the improvement of trade between Japan and India.

If the war is prolonged the demand for Indian cotton will certainly greatly decrease, and, at the same time, India will not be able to import British cotton cloth smoothly. Consequently, the Indian demand for cotton cloth cannot be filled only by the domestic cotton cloth industry in India. Naturally, India will depend on the import of Japanese cotton cloth.

What is considered unexpectedly effective in conducting the third meeting of the Indian-Japanese Trade Conference, is that Japan has completely broken away from European countries. In other words, Japan has established a concrete policy of complete neutrality in the European war.

At the same time the supremacy of Japan in the Far East will be proportional to intensification of the European war.

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International Education in Japan.

By Tomoo Watanbe.

Director, the International Institute, Tokyo.

Of late there is a noteworthy trend among the intelligent people in the world to view the East with eyes of curiosity, wonder and admiration particularly towards Japan whom they try to face with a serious attitude of study. Already many students have come over to Japan from our close neighbours, China and Manchoukuo to carry on their studies. But in the last four or five years many students from other lands have come to stay and study in our country in increasing numbers, particularly from Siam, and Java, Afghanistan, Burma and India.

In welcoming young foreign students to our land, it is important to remember that we provide necessary facilities for them and enable them thus to accomplish their aim. This is the duty of a civilised nation who thus try to contribute to the advancement of human culture and civilization. It is at the same time the way to promote international friendship and realize ultimately world peace.

In March 1934, the Cultural Work Department of the Foreign Ministry created a section within the organization, whereby means have been provided to systematize the nation's international cultural work. Almost simultaneously with this, there was established the Society for International Cultural Relations. In November, 1935, the Kokusai Gakuyu Kai Kan or the International Students' House, its headquarters and a home for foreign students the first one of its kind, was established in Japan. We offer them a comfortable abode and give them assistance in learning the Japanese language We endeavour to establish for them special connections with Universities and Colleges throughout the country and enable them to enter into proper educational institutions. We hold lecture-meetings, conversation, and movie shows introducing various phases of Japanese culture. In the summer vacation, seaside life, camping and other modes of enjoyment that will improve students' health and arouse in them a feeling of attachment to Japan are encouraged. Not

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infrequently do we also sponsor trips to places of interest and visits of inspection to educational, industrial, and cultural institutions and establishments.

Here at our Students' Institute, inspite of differences of nationality and religion, we try to make Japan a second home for them full of joyous reminiscences which they can never forget all their life. Thus we are trying conscientiously to fulfil our duty as citizens of a civilized nation.

The International Students' House, had its building, situated at 458, Nishi Okubo 1-chome, Yodobasi-ku, Tokyo, beautifully reconstructed and opened for use on February 1, 1936. At the time of the opening, the house had the accommodations for 29 and rooms furnished for the purpose numbered 28. But with the increase of students, the rooms have since been increased to 42 and the accommadation capacity also to 42. All the rooms are heated in the cold season.

One difficulty which the foreign students experience in arriving in Japan is to properly learn Japanese. The International Students' House, carefully considering this point, has devised an efficient method whereby the fundamentals of conversational Japanese can be taught to foreign students. At the same time efforts are being made to teach them the basic Japanese.

Every available convenience is given to foreign students to enter into Japanese institutions of learning such as Tokyo Imperial University, Tokyo Kogyo Daigaku, Tokyo University of Commerce, Waseda University, Jochi University, Tokyo Koto Kogei Gakko, Kiryu Higher Technical School, Hakodate Higher Fisheries School, Kyoto Koto Kogei Gakko, Tokyo Koto Kogakko, Tokyo Dental College, Suisan Koshujo (Fisheries Institute), Tokyo Higher Normal School, Eiyo Kenkyujo, Tokyo Medical College, Urawa Higher School, Nagoya Higher Technical School, Higher Sericultural School. and Seigakuin Middle School, Seisoku Middle School. The total number of the students thus enrolled at Japanese schools is 42.

Commencing from November, 1936, our Institute has started exchange, despatch and invitation of students between nations. It has further commenced to award scholarships to students and to give subsidy to educational inspection parties and to International Students' conferences like that of the Japanese-Filipino and the American-Japanese Conferences.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Japan celebrates her 2600th Year

The year 1940 of the Christian Era corresponds with the 2,600th anniversary of the foundation of the Japanese Empire. 2600 years of history, from 660 B. C. to 1940 A. D., is no mean record for a people. Come what may, therefore, the Japanese intend suitably to celebrate this *annus mirabilis* in their history. All through this memorable year, and throughout the country, there will be unfolded, one after another, the romances of the 2600-years-old history in pageants or other forms of presentation. The year 1940, then, is the most opportune time to see Japan—to see Japan in her 2,600th year.

But age is no more than an idle boast unless one can show some achievement for the years lived. It is possible to live to senility or to virile honorable old age. What then has Japan to show for her 2,600 years ?

Japan's chief claim to recognition is that she is the ideal crucible for the blending of East and West. It is this unique position which makes her the lodestar of all who would see a people in a perfect natural setting, retaining the best of their indigenous culture, while adopting many features of Westrn culture and civilization and adapting them to her peculiar genius. The visitor to Japan today observes this most in the facility he may enjoy of appreciating Japan's 2,600-years-old culture through a modern Western setting which offers him most of the amenities of his homeland.

Japan cordially invites the world to visit her and to share in her 1940 celebrations. There will be nationwide and exceptional attractions to appeal to all tastes in this great centenary in her history. Japan's ability to transport and entertain her guests is unchanged by events in the Orient. Particulars of these celebrations will be published later, and may then be obtained from the Board of Tourist Industry of the Japanese Government Railways and the various tourist agencies.

Confucius said, "*To find the new seek the old.*" We would rather say to those who desire to know the true Japan, "*Seek the Japan of 660 B. C. through the Japan of 1940.*"

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Adult Education In Iran

Thanks to the Information Service of the International Bureau of Education, we reproduce the following text on Iran to which we have dedicated a special article in this issue of *New Asia*.

A resolution was passed by the Council of Ministers in June 1936 to organise Adult Education in Iran. It was put into effect throughout the country at the beginning of the academic year 1936-1937. In accordance with this resolution double classes were opened in all parts of the country and housed in the elementary school buildings, the first class being for illiterates and the second for those who already have some knowledge of reading and writing or who have gone through the instruction given in the first class.

Evening schools have been formed for two fundamental purposes : first, to teach the illiterates how to read and write ; secondly, to provide adults with useful individual and social training conducive to good citizenship. The course of study is for two years and includes the following subjects *reading* and *writing* enabling the adult, when leaving the school, to write ordinary letters and make use of books, papers and simple publications ; elementary *arithmetic* (writing of numerals up to a million, the four fundamental operations, common and decimal fractions, weights and measures) ; brief *history* and *geography* of Iran and an elementary knowledge of *civics*.

This programme is carried out in 96 lessons, three nights a week and two hours a night. Attendance is compulsory for all illiterate subalterns of Ministries and Goverments offices. It was arranged that associations should be formed in all the provinces to encourage the public to attend evening classes. Each pupil has a report card which indicates his attendance, diligence and ability.

There have been privately organised evening classes for adults in Iran for many years, but they were not as efficicnt as those started under the new scheme. During 1936-1937, 1567 classes forming 800 evening schools were opened througout the country in proportion to the importance and capacity of each locality ; for Tehran and suburbs the number of schools was 109 (218 classes).

To give technical assistance to the teachers in these schools a system of inspection has been instituted in the capital and provinces. For every 10 schools one inspector has been chosen from the teachers of secondary school and the graduates of the National Teachers College who have had practice in teaching. As a result of the

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inspections and the experience gained, adult schools operated on a still sounder basis in 1937-1938.

Encouraged by the Ministry of Education the Ladies Clubs opened adult classes for women in Tehran, Tabriz and Rasht. In a few months, more than 1000 illiterate women registered for instruction in these schools. Special classes to teach foreign languages were also formed by the Ladies Club in Tehran.

As extra-curricular activities, lectures have been arranged by the Senate of the University of Tehran to be given to the students of adult classes, on such topics as hygiene, ethics, social science and law.

A division was created in the Ministry of Education called the Division of Adult Education : it has a Chief, an Assistant Chief and the necessary staff. It comprises the following sections : 1) Correspondence, 2) Organisation and inspection of adult schools in the capital, 3) the same in the provinces, 4) Forum section, which handles the affairs of the Institute of Oratory and Preaching, 5) Publications and statistics.

Special books for adult classes have deen prepared by qualified authors appointed by the Ministry of Education ; they take into account the fatigue of the students of evening schools after their hard day's work and their special mentality. The price of those books has been made so cheap as to enable people in all walks of life to buy them.

The Ministry has provided the means of establishing private evening secondary schools for adults, so that all who desire to continue their studies and obtain government school certificates are enabled to study in the evening. The buildings of government schools may be used and local educational authorities have been instructed to provide light heat and furniture, and to supervise the administration. These schools are open six nights' a week from 7 o' clock to 10. They have exactly the same curriculum as the day secondary schools.

Courses have been opened for teachers of elementary schools in the diagnosis and treatment of trachoma, for rural school teachers in agriculture and horticulture, also special courses in physical education and in scouting. Among the various summer session courses offered in 1937 in Tehran and certain principal cities, there were special classes on education, designed to instruct the teachers of elementary schools in the principles of pedagogy (subjects : 1 teaching method, 2) principles of education, classroom management, etc., 3)

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painting and drawing). Elementary teachers had an opportunity to discuss their problems with secondary school teachers. The total number of teachers attending was 294 (102 from boy's schools and 192 from girl's and mixed schools). The Institute of Oratory and Preaching aims at training preachers, well-informed orators and competent lecturers, and at organizing public lectures.

In the second year under the Regulations for Adult Education, the appropriation for adult education was increased from 1,607,325 rials to 2,650,000 rials. The 3rd year began on Sept. 1938. Satisfactory results having been obtained in the first and second years, the number of classes were considerably increased : 965 schools comprising 1,703 classes have been establised all over the country. Since according to regulations each class is used by two groups of students every other night, the number of classes may actually be regarded as being 3,406.

Cultural Congresses

Indian Historical Records Commission

The Sixteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Darbhanga Library Hall of this University on the 13th and the 14th December, 1939. His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, Governor of Bengal, inaugurated the proceedings and Sir Jadunath Sarkar presided. It was attended by scholars and representatives of Provincial Governments and Indian States.

One of the important recommendations of the commission is a request to the Government of India that steps should be taken to secure copies of records relating to India, preserved in the Indian Office in London and at various places in the Continent including Holland, France and Portugal.

* * *

Indian History Congress

The Third Session of the Indian History Congress was held in Calcutta from December 15 to December 17, 1939, at the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor and the University. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, presided. The work of the Congress was divided into five sections presided over by eminent scholars : (1) *Archaic Section*—Dr. A. S. Altekar, M. A., D.Lit., of Benares Hindu University ; (2) *Ancient Imperial Section*—Professor K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, M.A., of Madras University ; (3) *Early Mediaeval*—Dr. N. Nazim, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), of the Archaeological

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Survey of India ; (4) *Mughal*—Dr. Tarachand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Principal, Kayastha Pathsala, Allahabad ; (5) *Modern Section*—Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., of Annamalai University

One hundred and eighty-four delegates attended the third session from all over India. The session was inaugurated by His Excellency the Chancellor in the spacious pandal erected between the Senate House and the Asutosh Building. All the meetings, including a lantern lecture on Prehistoric India by Rao Bahadur K, N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology, were held in the University premises.

A Historical Exhibition and an Art Exhibition were organised in connexion with the Congress and were housed at the Senate Hall in which many valuable and object inscriptions and records were displayed.

The members of the Congress were entertained at dinners by Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Dr. N. N. Law, at lunch by the University of Calcutta, and at tea by Dr. S. C. Law A Steamer Party was organised by the Reception Committee of which the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor was the Chairman.

* * *

Two outstanding research publications.

The 18th century with the fateful battle of Plassy (1757) is most important in the history of Bengal as well as in the history of British relations with India. The credit of making the first systematic and exhaustive survey of that century with Alivardi (ruling Bengal between 1740-56) as the central figure, goes to Prof. Dr Kalikinkar Datta. He has already established his reputation as a research-scholar by his "Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, 1740-70 A. D.," "Education and Social Amelioration of Women in Pre-Mutiny India" and "The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57." Now in his "Alivardi and his Times" published by the University of Calcutta, which conferred on the author the highest academic distinction of Ph. D., we find the author at his best. His exhaustive bibliography admirably demonstrates the technique of his research extending not only to political history but to commercial, economic and social histories as well. The reconstruction of the confused political annals of Bengal is admirable and convincing. At the same time we are impressed by a rare quality in the author of surveying the changeful political relations against the background of the more or less stable socio-economic relations. This was sadly neglected so far in most of our historical works. Dr. Dutt's survey of education, of the position of women, of the social relations between the Hindus and the Moslems of Bengal, open a new field for research in which he will be honoured as a pioneer and we hope that he will enrich our historical literature with many such precious volumes.

Another striking personality in the age of transition between the medieval and modern India is the great social and religious reformer Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833). Dr. Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D. (Lond.), has already earned fame by his "Selections from Official Letters and Documents (1791-1830)", relating to the life of

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the great Bengali pioneer honoured as the Father of Modern India. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has attested to the author's sober scholarship and unsparing labour in the collection of first hand evidence and we find these qualities admirably demonstrated in his recent selection from official records (1803-1859) relating to "Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the last Moghuls' (published by Mr. N. Mookerjee, Art Press, Calcutta). Herein we read how a Bengali Hindu was appointed an envoy of the Muslim King of Delhi, Akbar II and how faithfully he tried to fulfil his mission by undertaking a voyage to England where he died in 1833. In a valuable introduction running to over 100 pages the learned author has given a brilliant commentary to the documents and to many incidents referred to therein. Years of patient and devoted labour lie behind his work and we hope that Dr. Majumdar's services would be adequately recognised and that he would be encouraged to publish his other studies on the progressive movements of 19th century Bengal. The convergence and collaboration of the Hindu, the Moslem and the Christian factors in the evolution of Modern India, deserve a serious and documented study of the type of Dr. Majumdar's works and all scholars interested in this line of research should come forward to help Dr. Majumdar in his selfless investigations.

Indo-Japanese Cultural Association.

Mr. T. Wakamatsu, the Consul-General of Japan, was the guest of honour at a special re-union of the Indo-Japanese Cultural Association during his brief stay in Calcutta in the Christmas week. Mrs. Wakamatsu together with many Japanese and Indian ladies graced the occasion with their presence. In reply to the address of welcome Mr. Wakamatsu replied by assuring his friends that he would try his best to foster friendly relations between India and Japan connected by cultural ties for centuries. Before his departure for Delhi, the Consul-General was At Home to a representative gathering of Indian, Japanese and European residents of Calcutta who were charmed by their splendid hospitality.

Notices and acknowledgments.

The 4th (October, 1939) issue of *New Asia* was caught in the whirlwind of the European war which naturally interfered with the normal delivery of letters, periodicals etc. So we are ready to send extra copies if we know from our friends that they have missed the October issue. We on our turn are missing many important periodicals and other documents from our friendly correspondants abroad to whom we offer our best thanks for supplying us regularly, so far, with their valuable publications. Our special thanks are due to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, Geneva, the Bureau of International Education and the International Red Cross of Geneva, the American Association of Museums, the Pan-Pacific Union, Honolulu, the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, Tokyo, the China Weekly Review, Shanghai and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

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NEW ASIA

It is a well-known fact that the Indian public has been showing an increasing interest in Asiatic affairs. But, unfortunately owing to the lack of well-directed supply of authentic news in India, our countrymen have been so long content with fragmentary and misleading versions of important Asian problems of the day. This state of affairs is bound to lead the Indian public to form an uncritical, second-hand idea of Indo-Asiatic relations; and no doubt, it adversely affects the political, economic and cultural interests of India.

With a view to counteract this evil and to develop the spirit of human solidarity in our continent, the "New Asia" is started. The "New Asia" is a quarterly review which plans to make an accurate survey and unprejudiced interpretation of Asiatic affairs, based on facts and figures collected from original and authentic sources. Our journal welcomes publications for review and articles on political, economic, social and cultural problems faced by New Asia in the present time. As our journal reaches the representative thought-centres of the East and the West, the "New Asia" will function as an effective intellectual link between India and her sister-nations of the Renascent East.

The "New Asia" recognises no distinction of race, creed or political party. Its chief aim is to diffuse facts and ideas relating to our great Asiatic continent and to foster the cause of International understanding based on Justice and Truth.

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An Organ of Oriental Culture and Thought.

APRIL, 1940.

CALCUTTA

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NEW ASIA

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EDITORIAL.

With April we reach the eighth and so far the most ominous month in the European war. Hitler with characteristic ruthlessness overcame Denmark and, from that vantage ground flung Nazi battalion, over 64000 strong, into Norway. The allies, no doubt, have inflicted severe losses on Germany both in air and on the sea but German intrigue and aggressiveness are still far from being effectively controlled. Strong rumours are already afield that Germany may soon fling herself on Sweden involving thereby the entire group of Scandinavian nations in this disastrous war. Belgium and Holland also appear to be in a highly precarious condition. Belgium, in the last war, paid a heavy price as we all know ; but Holland and Denmark, Norway and Sweden were amongst the few fortunate neutral nations who profited enormously by their neutrality in the world war of 1914—18. For Norway and Sweden this should be the first fire-baptism after over a century, to defend their hearth and home. For Holland it would be something more. The Dutch people according to the census of 1930 numbered about 8 millions ruling over the destiny of over 62 million souls in South Eastern Asia now known as the Netherlands Indies. As early as 1602 and almost simultaneously with the British East India Company, the Netherlands created the Dutch East India Company which extended its sway over the various islands like Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes etc. Ruling them for nearly two centuries the Company was dissolved in 1798 and the colonies came to be governed by the mother country. In 1795 the French Republican army invaded Holland, when the

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Dutch royal family had to fly to England and could not return to Holland till November, 1813 when the country was freed from French domination. During the Napoleonic wars Java was occupied temporarily by England and came to be ruled by Sir Stamford Raffles. The Congress of Vienna ordered Belgium and Holland to be united but the union was dissolved by the Belgium revolution of 1830 and Belgium was constituted an idependent kingdom by the Treaty of London, April, 1839. Thus parting company about a century ago the two sister nations continued to follow somewhat parallel lines of evolution, as two very small nations with very big colonies. The population of Belgium (11,775 sq. miles) in 1930 was about eight millions ruling over 9,18,000 sq. miles of Belgian Congo with the population of over ten millions. But Holland enjoys the precarious privilege of being, after Great Britain and France, the third great colonial power of the world, exciting naturally the jealousy of ambitious neighbours. The maximum strength of her army is fixed at about 20,000 only including 1000 for the sea service. The Dutch garrison of the East Indies is composed of 1000 officers and 32,000 other ranks in 1935. The Dutch navy commands only about half a dozen coast defence ships and cruisers and a few sub-marines. These are poor defences even for the small mother country what to speak of the far flung and enormous colonies. Any power invading or controlling Holland in course of the present war would come immediately to ultilise the huge quantity of raw-materials, food-stuff, rubber, oil, gold etc. of the Dutch East Indies which further complicated the international issues through its geographical situation. The Netherland Indies is in the very hub of the Pacific World almost touching British Malaya on the one side and the American Philippines on the other. French Indo-China as well as British Australasia must negotiate with any power dominating over the East Indies and Japan also has vital interests in that zone as clearly expressed by Mr. Arita in a recent statement which has evoked significant reactions from Holland and U. S. A. : "The Japanese navy feels grave concern for the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Dutch East Indies because any change in the *status quo* of those islands, as a result of the European war, would mean the expansion of the conflict to this part of the world..... To this the Japanese navy has the strongest objection particularly in view of Japan's national policy of standing out of the European war."

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We in India are not in a position to judge the gravity of the above statement made by responsible officers of the Japanese navy. If with the invasion of Holland the war extends to the East Indies, we Indians must forthwith revise all our opinions and attitudes with regard to the defence problems of India. Every Indian, whatever may be his political or religious affiliation should get ready to present a united front for unity is the best guarantee of security. From our experience of the last World War we have seen that local conflagrations always tend to spread and already within six months of the outbreak of the present European War we feel that the fire is almost spreading to the Pacific World through the Dutch East Indies and to the Near East through the Balkan states and Turkey. Most of the Asiatic nations except Japan appear to be pathetically unprepared in the face of this world crisis, specially in view of the ominous expansion of Communist Russia from the port of Vladivostock, through the Trans-Siberian stations threatening the frontiers of India, Iran and Turkey, right up to Finland and Scandinavia. We can ill afford now to indulge in political prophesies and we only hope that the Asiatic nations would be spared the tragedies looming ominously on the horizon of Europe.

Creative Democracy—The Task Before Us

By JOHN DEWEY

Under present circumstances I cannot hope to conceal the fact that I have managed to exist eighty years. Mention of the fact may suggest to you a more important fact—namely, that events of the utmost significance for the destiny of this country have taken place during the past four-fifths of a century, a period that covers more than half of its national life in its present form. For obvious reasons I shall not attempt a summary of even the more important of these events. I refer here to them because of their bearing upon the issue to which this country committed itself when the nation took shape—the creation of democracy, an issue which is now as urgent as it was a hundred and fifty years ago when the most experienced

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and wisest men of the country gathered to take stock of conditions and to create the political structure of a self-governing society.

For the net import of the changes that have taken place in these later years is that ways of life and institutions which were once the natural, almost the inevitable, product of fortunate conditions have now to be won by conscious and resolute effort. Not all the country was in a pioneer state eighty years ago. But it was still, save perhaps in a few large cities, so close to the pioneer stage of American life that the traditions of the pioneer, indeed of the frontier, were active agencies in forming the thoughts and shaping the beliefs of those who were born into its life. In imagination at least the country was still having an open frontier, one of unused and unappropriated resources. It was a country of physical opportunity and invitation. Even so, there was more than a marvelous conjunction of physical circumstances involved in bringing to birth this new nation. There was in existence a group of men who were capable of readapting older instititutions and ideas to meet the situtations provided by new physical conditions—a group of men extraordinarily gifted in political inventiveness.

At the present time, the frontier is moral, not physical. The period of free lands that seemed boundless in extent has vanished. Unused resources are now human rather than material. They are found in the waste of grown men and women who are without the chance to work, and in the young men and young women who find doors closed where there was once opportunity. The crisis that one hundred and fifty years ago called out social and political inventiveness is with us in a form which puts a heavier demand on human creativeness.

At all events this is what I mean when I say that we now have to create by deliberate and determined endeavour the kind of demoeracy which in its origin one hundred and fifty years ago was largely a gift of grace, the product of a fortunate combination of circumstances. We have lived for a long time upon the heritage that came to us from the happy conjunction of men and events in an earlier day. The present state of the world is more than a reminder that we have now to put forth every energy of our own to prove worthy of our heritage. It is a challenge to do for the critical and complex conditions of today what the men of an earlier day did for simpler conditions.

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If I emphasize that the task can be accomplished only by inventive effort and creative activity, it is in part because the depth of the present crisis is due in considerable part to the fact that for a long period we acted as if our democracy were something that perpetuated itself automatically ; as if our ancestors had succeeded in setting up a machine that had solved the problem of perpetual motion in politics. We acted as if democracy were something that took place mainly at Washington and Albany—or some other state capital—under the impetus of what happened when men and women went to the polls once a year or so—which is a somewhat extreme way of saying that we were in the habit of thinking of democracy as a kind of political mechanism that would work as long as citizens were reasonably faithful in performing political duties.

Of late years we have heard more and more frequently that this is not enough ; that democracy is a way of life. This saying gets down to hard pan. But I am not sure that something of the externality of the old idea does not cling to the new and better statement. In any case we can escape from this external way of thinking only as we realize in thought and act that democracy is a *personal* way of individual life ; that it signifies the possession and continual use of certain attitudes, forming personal character, and determining desire and purpose in all the relations of life. Instead of thinking of our own dispositions and habits as accommodated to certain institutions we have to learn to think of the latter as expressions, projections, and extensions of habitually dominant personal attitudes.

Democracy as a personal, an individual, way of life involves nothing fundamentally new. But when applied it puts a new practical meaning in old ideas. Put into effect it signifies that powerful present enemies of democracy can be successfully met only by the creation of personal attitudes in individual human beings, so that we must get over our tendency to think that its defense can be found in any external means whatever, whether military or civil, if they are separated from personal attitudes so deep-seated as to constitute personal character.

Democracy is a way of life controlled by a working faith in the possibilities of human nature. Belief in the Common Man is a familar article in the democratic creed. That belief is without basis and significance save as it means faith in the potentialities of human

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nature as that nature is exhibited in every human being irrespective of race, color, sex, birth, and family, of material or cultural wealth. This faith may be enacted in statutes, but it is only on paper unless it is put in force in the attitudes which human beings display to one another in all the incidents and relations of daily life. To denounce Naziism for intolerance, cruelty, and stimulation of hatred amounts to fostering of insincerity if, in our personal relations to other persons, if, in our daily walk and conversation, we are moved by racial, color, or other class prejudice ; indeed, by anything save a generous belief in their possibilities as human beings and hence in the need of providing conditions which will enable these capacities to reach fulfilment. The democratic faith in human equality is the belief that every human being, independent of the quantity or range of his personal endowment, has the right to equal opportunity with every other person for development of whatever gifts he has. The democratic belief in the principle of leadership is a generous one. It is universal. It is belief in the capacity of every person to lead his own life free from coercion and imposition by others, provided right conditions are supplied.

Democracy is a way of personal life controlled not merely by faith in human nature in general but by faith in the capacity of human beings for intelligent judgment and action if proper conditions are furnished. I have been accused more than once and from opposed quarters of an undue, a utopian, faith in the possibilities of intelligence and in education as a correlate of intelligence. At all events, I did not invent this faith. I acquired it from my surroundings as far as those surroundings were animated by the democratic spirit. For what is the faith of democracy in the method of consultation, of conference, of persuasion, of discussion, in forming of public opinion which in the long run is self-corrective, except faith in the capacity of the intelligence of the common man to respond with common sense to the free play of facts and ideas which are secured by effective guarantees of free inquiry, free assembly, and free communication ? I am willing to leave to upholders of totalitarian states of the right and the left the view that faith in the capacities of intelligence is utopian. For the faith is so deeply embedded in the methods which are intrinsic to democracy that when a professed democrat denies the faith he convicts himself of treachery to his profession.

When I think of the conditions under which men and women

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are living in many foreign countries today, fear of espionage, with danger hanging over the meeting of friends for friendly conversation in private gatherings, I am inclined to believe that the heart and final guarantee of democracy is in free gatherings of neighbors on the street corner to discuss back and forth what is read in uncensored news of the day, and in gatherings of friends in the living rooms of houses and apartments to converse freely with one another. Intolerance, abuse, calling of names because of differences of opinion about religion or politics or business, as well as because of differences of race, color, wealth, or degree of culture, are treason to the democratic way of life. For everything which bars freedom and fullness of communication sets up barriers which divide human beings into sets and cliques into antagonistic sects and factions, and the democratic way of life is undermined. Merely legal guarantees of the civil liberties of free belief, free expression, free assembly are of little avail if in daily life freedom of communication, of give and take of ideas, facts, experiences is choked by mutual suspicion, by abuse, by fear and by hatred. These destroy the essential condition of the democratic way of living even more effectually than open coercion which—as the example of totalitarian states proves—is effective only when it succeeds in breeding hate, suspicion, intolerance in the minds of individual human beings.

Finally, given the two conditions just mentioned, democracy as a way of life is controlled by personal faith in personal day-by-day working together with others. Democracy is the belief that even when needs and ends or consequences are different for each individual, the habit of amicable cooperation—which may include, as in sport, rivalry and competition—is itself a priceless addition to life. To take as far as possible every conflict which arises—and they are bound to arise out of the atmosphere and medium of force, of violence as a means of settlement—into that of discussion and of intelligence is to treat those who disagree even profoundly with us as those from whom we may learn and, in so far, as friends. A genuinely democratic faith in peace is faith in the possibility of conducting disputes, controversies and conflicts as cooperative undertakings in which both parties learn by giving the other a chance to express itself, instead of having one party conquer by forceful suppression of the other—a suppression which is nonetheless one of violence when it takes place by psychological means of ridicule, abuse, intimidation, instead of by overt imprisonment or concentration camps. To cooperate by giving differences a chance to show themselves in the belief that the expression of difference is not only a right of the other persons but is a means of enriching one's own life-experience, is inherent in the democratic personal way of life.

If what has been said is charged with being a set of moral commonplaces, my only reply is that that is just the point in saying them. For to get rid of the habit of thinking of democracy as something institutional and external and to acquire the habit of treating

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it as a way of personal life is to realize that democracy is a moral ideal and so far as it becomes a fact is a moral fact. It is to realize that democracy is a reality only as it is indeed a commonplace of living.

Since my adult years have been given to the pursuit of philosophy, I shall ask your indulgence if in concluding I state briefly the democratic faith in the formal terms of philosophic position. So stated, democracy is belief in the ability of human experience to generate the aims and methods by which further experience will grow in ordered richness. Every other form of moral and social faith rests upon the idea that experience must be subjected at some point or other to some form of external control; to some "authority" alleged to exist outside the processes of experience. Democracy is the faith that the process of experience is more important than any special result attained, so that special results achieved are of ultimate value only as they are used to enrich and order the ongoing process. Since the process is thus capable of being educative, faith in democracy is all one with faith in experience and education. All ends and values that are cut off from the ongoing process become arrests, fixations. They strive to fixate what has been gained instead of using it to open the road and point the way to new and better experiences.

If one asks what is meant by experience in this connection my reply is that it is the free interaction of individual human beings with surrounding conditions, especially the human surroundings, which develops and satisfies need and desire by increasing knowledge of things as they are. Knowledge of conditions as they are is the only solid ground for communication and sharing; all other communication means the subjection of some persons to the personal opinion of other persons. Need and desire—out of which grow purpose and direction of energy - go beyond what exists, and hence beyond knowledge, beyond science. It continually opens the way into the unexplored and unattained future.

Democracy as compared with other ways of life is the sole way of living which believes wholeheartedly in the process of experience as end and as means; as that which is capable of generating the science which is the sole dependable authority for the direction of further experience and which releases emotions, needs, and desires, that call into being the things which have not existed in the past. For every way of life that fails in its democracy limits the contacts, the exchanges, the communications, the interactions by which experience is steadied while it is also enlarged and enriched. The task of this release and enrichment is one that has to be carried on day by day. Since it is one that can have no end till experience itself comes to an end, the task of democracy is forever that of creation of a freer and more humane experience in which all share and to which all contribute.*

*A message presented at a banquet in New York City held in honor of John Dewey's eightieth birthday (October 20, 1939) and reprinted through the courtesy of *Unity*, Chicago.—Editor.

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Outline of Nippon Literature

By Yasushi Uriu, Tokyo, Japan

Archaic Period (before A. D. 700) : Age of The Gods

The first part of the archaic period of Japan, as of many other countries, is known to us only by cosmogonic and theogonic myths of which the latter largely resemble Polynesian legends. According to the Nihon Shoki : "Of old, heaven and earth were not yet separated, forming a chaotic mass like an egg which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out and formed heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became earth."

So far, there is much of a scientific explanation in it, but as to the birth of the deities, not unlike nearly all myths, both the Kojiki and Nihon Shoki simply state that three deities were spontaneously produced. They begot many children, ending with the god Izanagi and the goddess Izanami, to both of whom the other deities gave instructions to "make, consolidate, and give birth to the floating land."

Thereupon the two deities stood upon the drifting bridge of heaven and thrust down the jeweled spear and stirred the brine with it. "When the brine went curdle-curdle, they drew the spear up and the brine that dripped from the end of the spear coagulated and became an island." Then they married and from their union resulted the island of Japan, as well as numerous children, one after another. The first of the last three children born after the death of Izanami is Amaterasu Omikami, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, generally known as the Sun Goddess. It was to her that her father, Izanagi, gave his divine jeweled necklace with the instruction that she should rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven.

The nomination of this goddess, as was not uncommon with many other primitive tribes, suggests the existence of a sun-worshipping idea among the early Japanese. The story of her hiding in a rock-cave and the heaven that became dark as the result may be regarded as an amplification of this conception. Moreover, an interesting point is that it was a female deity, and not a male one such as Jupiter, whom they enthroned as the ruler, the highest deity, of their heaven.

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A goddess usually suggests grace, beauty, love and peace. Hence it is implied that the primitive Japanese undoubtedly looked upon these qualities, if not particularly as their ideals, at least with favour.

Amaterasu Omikami hated the rough conduct of her brother, Susano-no-Mikoto, who was fond of fighting and killing. His violence went so far one day as to insult her by breaking her looom and she thereupon hid herself in a rock-cave, making heaven completely dark. The deities met in darkness to discuss what to do and decided to give music and dances in front of the cave in order to entice her forth. As the performance went on merrily and the laughter of the deities shook heaven, the goddess opened the stone door to peep out. A god who was waiting outside then grasped her hand and brought her from the cave and the sun shone once more. Susano-no-Mikoto, for punishment, had his finger nails torn off and was banished from heaven.

Many foreigners believe in the prevalence of the Spartan spirit among the Japanese peoples. But as this story proves, that spirit seemed to take no part in the opening of their country, whatever may be the facts in the later periods. Compare this with Greek mythology, full of war records or such ceremonies as drinking infants' blood or burning children alive to please the gods in Greece, Carthage, Egypt, and elsewhere, or the bloody amusements performed in the Roman amphitheatres.

The original name of Japan was Toyo-ashihara-mizuho-no-kuni, which means the land of luxuriant reed-plains and rice-fields. This name itself implicitly describes a peaceful land which is mainly based on agriculture. In fact, those early people of Japan lived very simple, natural lives. Their clothes were made of bark interwoven with hemp thread. Their abodes were mostly caves until the invention of places built of unplaned wood. The principal food was rice, accompanied by salt, vegetables, fruit and flesh. They had wine, but it was crude.

Their days were passed in cultivating the fields, hunting in the mountains, and occasionally fighting. They were brave, courteous light-hearted, pleasure-loving ; they were humorous, simple-minded, kindhearted, sentimental rather than passionate ; they were apprehensive, but not profound, inclined to neatness but seldom or never philosophical. They believed in the existence of heaven (Takamagahara), the region of the dead (Yomi-no-kuni), and the kingdom of the sea (Watatsumi-no-miya), but they hardly seemed to bother about the question of life and death.

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They loved and respected their ancestors, but they adorded Nature perhaps more deeply, because it had a direct concern with their agriculture So they prayed mostly to the gods of agriculture, for the welfare of their own and others, desiring happy, clean, peaceful lives. This led to the establishment of the Shinto religion, a religion of love and gratitude rather than of fear.

Their land itself, as already stated, is said to have been formed by the co-operative work of two deities, male and female. And the male god, Izanagi-no-Mikoto, very much attached to his deceased wife, Izanami-no-Mikoto, went to see her in the region of the dead with the wish to bring her back. Upon meeting her at the barrier of that region, he told her frankly, "The land I started to make with you is not yet thoroughly completed."

It is generally understood, even by the Japanese themselves, that Japan is a country where men have precedence over women in all things. However, the feelings of Izanagi-no-Mikoto, notwithstanding his previous understanding that "women had better not start things", manifest his co-operative attitude with the woman. That man and women should co-operate in the making of the country, that is, in all things, seemed to be therefore the essential maxim at the opening of this country. Such a charming legend, together with that of the Sun Goddess, is scarcely to be found in the history of the nations among whom women now hold a high position.

In short, this people, as most primitive races were more or less inclined to be, seems to have led an extremely natural life, ignorant as yet of the vice of pretension. Its legends that tell of no murder of Cain and no apple of Adam aptly indicate that such conceptions did not meet with its approval. Enmity and murder were not appreciated and sexual love was not regarded as a sin. Hence the story of Susano-no-Mikoto, that fierce and cruel god, who was chased from heaven. But even so, he was not altogether alien to a natural human feeling that taught him to love a woman. Upon consummating his marriage with the girl he loved, he sang with joy :

Many clouds arise,
And a manifold fence all around ;
For the spouses to be within,
They form a manifold fence.
Ah ! this manifold fence.

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This song composed by him is generally believed to be the origin of the Japanese verse "waka", but judging from its perfect formality, it is uncertain whether an after-addition was made to produce 31 syllables. The original might have been as follows :

The uprising clouds even,
To shut up within the spouses,
Make this manifold (eight-fold) fence.

There is also a live song made by another deity :

Whatever befalls me,
Ne'er shall I forget my love
With whom I slept
In the island of wild-ducks—
The bird of the offing.

It is easily conceived that these songs were made rather intuitively with little attempt at refinement. Songs were made also on wine, warfare, or travelling. But no war song is known to us before the reign of Emperor Jimmu. The song sung by his soldiers is an example of the utmost simplicity and primitiveness.

Ho ! now is the time ;
Ho ! now is the time ;
Ha ! Ha ! Psha !
Even now, my boys !
Even now, my boys !

The poetic language was not yet introduced throughout these ages. They sang as they felt like singing and the songs survived from mouth to mouth. The same can be said of the prayers to the gods, recited with a view to the general welfare and the exorcising of evil spirits. The same thing applied to the records of events, which were told by the official reciters, until the introduction of writing from Korea in the third century, but more correctly until the appointment of the official recorders at the beginning of the fifth century. However, we may safely assume that the art of writing did not develop outside a small class of official scribes until the seventh century, when the Kojiki was compiled.

Pre-historic Period

The length of the age of the gods remains beyond our knowledge. But the latter part of the archaic period may be more adequately called the pre-historic period which begins with the accession of

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Emperor Jimmu as the first Emperor of Japan. The date of the accession is officially assigned to 660 B.C., from which the years of the Empire are reckoned.

From a chronological standpoint, the period from the accession to the close of the reign of Emperor Nintoku in 399 A.D., marks an apparent lack of historical exactitude with its almost incredible longevity. The 17 rulers (counting Empress Jingu separately) reigned 1,056 years, while the next 17 rulers reigned only 228 years (A.D. 400—628), average $13^1/_2$ years. In view of the fact that the first official recognition of the art of writing occurred in 405 A.D., this is not altogether insignificant.

Strictly speaking, therefore, it may be more correct to end the pre-historic period at 400 A.D., but for the reason already given that no mention is made of the calendar-makers before 553 A.D. and that no book was written before 622 A.D., I extend the epoch conveniently to the Nara period.

During this period, obviously as a result of the introduction of writing, the mythological elements began to give way gradually to the more historical. And towards the end of it, myths and legends became more separated from what may be taken as historical accounts.

However, mythology has its own value. Its merits are not to be sought with historical esteem, but to be recognized in the investigation of the circumstances which produced it. The myths I have narrated, for instance, seem to possess little power to convince any critical mind of the absolute authenticity of the events. But they render all the same no little service, if told frankly as myths, to the study of the general inclination of the people that gave birth to such legends.

Many Japanese historians habitually or perhaps purposely mix the myths with historical events to make the history look sublime. But the results are apt to turn out rather opposite to what they originally designed. Myth, I think, has its greatest merit when told unassumedly.

As a matter of fact, the archaic period furnished no valuable contribution to Japanese literature. But there were two events of great importance which formed the basis for the development of literature in this country. One was the introduction of the art of writing, with which came the civilization of China. And the other

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was the propagation of Buddhism, transported through Korea with the Buddhist images. Buddhism, in fact, was first introduced to Japan in 552 A.D. by an envoy from Kudara (Pakchoi), a Korean province; but although Emperor Kimmei was delighted by "the opportunity of listening to so wonderful a doctrine," owing to the violent opposition of the anti-Buddhist party led by the military clansmen, no real progress was made until 587. The guidance and consolidation of the propaganda thereafter owe a great deal to the wisdom and virtue of the Prince-Regent Shotoku who was the compiler of the Kiujiki, records of ancient matters.

The Buddhism which was then brought to Japan, belonged to the Hinayana and the semi-Hinayana schools. The Hinayana, the lesser vehicle doctrine, consists, roughly speaking, of precepts and ethical teachings. Compared with the Mahayana (greater vehicle) doctrines, it is easier to understand and, with little metaphysical element in it, it is more practical for the cultivation of a moral sense. It suited therefore the simple-minded people of early Japan, who seemed to have little philosophical inclination. Its progress indeed was so great that it had become almost the state religion at the close of the period. However, as Emperor Kimmei himself declared, to the average mind the charm of the images seemed to be more enchanting than the doctrine. To this fact is legitimately attributed the remarkable development of Buddhist art in Japan.

As for the intercourse between Japan and other countries, the first Japanese official record mentions the envoy from Mimana (a Korean province) in the reign of Emperor Sujin (97—30 B. C.). But as it is fairly safe to assert that "in varying proportions, elements from almost all parts of the eastern coast of China were present in the population of Japan at the opening of the Christian epoch," it is quite possible that there had been intercourse with Korea and China earlier than this period. Tradition refers to it as early as the days of Susano, who is to have sailed for Korea (Silla) to find gold and silver. It is also reported that he planted trees, for Japan needed "floating riches," which obviously mean ships.

The first mention of Japanese travellers to China is found in the Han chronicles, an entry registering the arrival of a Japanese envoy at Loyan, the Han capital, in A.D. 57. There is an interesting passage which is found in these Han chronicles :—

"The country of Wa (Nippon) lies southeast of South Korea

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in the middle of the ocean and is formed of a number of islands. It contains more than 100 kingdoms. Erom the time when Emperor Wei-Ti conquered Chao-Hsien (i.e. North Korea—hence the Japanese name Chosen) in 108 B.C., more than 30 of these kingdoms have held intercourse with China by envoys or by scribes, etc."

These chronicles also state that from an early date the people of Japan went to southern Korea to purchase iron. Similar records are found in the Wei chronicles (A.D. 220—255) and also in the Korean records. To be brief, from these records and archeological relics found in the old Japanese tombs and elsewhere, we are fairly confident in asserting that certain parts of Japan, including Izumo, were in contact with China and Korea several centuries before the Christian era and that the inhabitants owed to China the beginnings of their cultural development.

Nara Period (A.D. 710—794)

In chronological order, the Nara period begins with the establishment of the capital in Nara by Empress Gemmyo in 710 A.D. and ends in 794 A.D. when the capital was moved to Heian, the present city of Kyoto. But in view of the cultural history of Japan, it is usually traced about 20 years farther back when Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro began to write poems, in the reign of Empress Jito in the latter part of the seventh century.

The aforementioned Kiujiki, compiled by Prince-Regent Shotoku in 620, having been destroyed by fire, the oldest book written in Japanese is the Kojiki, or Records of Ancient Matters, which was completed in 712. It was written in the reign of Empress Gemmyo by Yasumaro, a first-rate authority on the Chinese language, taking down what was told him by Hieda-no-Are. The language of the Kojiki is indeed a curious mixture of Chinese and Japanese and, as the author himself confesses, evidently the work was not an easy matter. It contains the early traditions of the Japanese race, mythological and historical, from the chaotic times down to the reign of Empress Suiko (573—628).

The compilation of some topographical records was also made in the reign of this Empress.

Compared with the Kojiki, the Nihon Shoki, which was completed in 720 in the reign of Empress Gensho, is a work decidedly more advanced in form, with more detailed historical accounts,

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although the myths given in it are practically the same and are treated in a similar manner. It is the joint work of Prince Toneri and Yasumaro, with the co-operation of some other scholars. It is written in pure Chinese, ending its records with the reign of Empress Jito. It may have been a curious coincidence that both the Kojiki and the Nihon Shoki were written in the reigns of two Empresses and ended with the reigns of two other Empresses.

Empress Suiko is celebrated for her foundation of the famous Golden Hall of the Horyuji in 607. It was also under her auspices that the making of Buddhist images showed rapid improvement. Likewise in her reign "the conscious adoption of Chinese political doctrines and institutions" began, with the introduction of the lunar calendar, a code of court etiquette, the exchange of envoys and so forth.

In the reign of Empress Jito, Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro, as already mentioned, set out to write poems in Japanese. He flourished as the greatest poet of the time. In fact, Shakespeare lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth when books were burned ; so the literati were buried alive by a Chinese Emperor, Shih Huang Ti, who lavished money and man-power in building the Great Wall that served no useful purpose.

In this epoch, the ingenious character of the nation, which has never contented itself with mere borrowing, came to claim its own justification in literary and aesthetic activities. This tendency, as already indicated, had manifested through the creation of Buddhist art, but soon became efficient enough for the refinement of poetry. The naive, crude form of poetry, which had been the direct outcome of a spasmodic desire to sing, was now cultivated with more rhetorical devices. The intuitive elements that had formed the old poems gave away to a more sensitive, delicate observation with a refined sensibility and a soft impressionistic touch. They were still written in the Chinese characters, not in the original sense of the words, but phonetically, originating the *kana*, or the Japanese syllabary.

The Manyoshu, a collection of poems compiled early in the ninth century, contains 4,496 poems, most of which were composed during the latter half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth century. The salient fact of his anthology is that, in it, a long form of poetry, that is, the continual repetition of five and seven-syllable phrases, is frequently found. This style, however, with all its beauty and expresiveness, became suddenly unpopular after the Nara period and a shorter

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form which is called the "tanka" was substituted, to be understood generally as the "waka" or Japanese poetry.

The aforementioned Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro is celebrated for his excellence in this kind of verse. His elegy on Prince Hinami is written in this long form, consisting of 149 phrases.

When began the earth and heaven
By the margin of the river
Of the firmament eternal,
Met the Gods in high assembly,
Met the Gods and held high counsel.
Myriads upon myriads gathered,
Then to each high charge was given.
On the Goddess of the Sunlight,
Her who fills the sky with radiance,
They bestowed the realm of Heaven.

The verse begins with these words describing the divine counsel in heaven, to which is ascribed the creation of the Japanese Empire. As this conception forms the basis of the Shinto dogma, this poem, together with his other elegies, has been chanted as a prayer in that religion.

In fact, Japanese verse owes its real start to the genius of Hitomaro, who, having learned to see things with a more refined sentiment, gave a definite form to the poetry. His long poem written in grief over the death of his wife is so true to his feelings that we cannot read it without sympathy.

Whenever the child that my wife left behind her
Cries after her, a man like me finds naught to give him.
So, I take him in my arms and lay him on the pillow,
On which I used to sleep with my beloved wife.
In the daytime I am lonely in this chamber of ours,
And at night I sigh and sigh till the dawn breaks.

And so, he goes to the mountain where she is buried, with a faint hope of seeing her again. But in vain he searches, rock after rock, only to weep over the fact that she is nowhere to be found.

As gifted as Hitomaro, there is another poet, named Yamabe-no-Akhaito, who, like Hitomaro, seems to have held no important position at court. But his poems, more concise and purely objective, stand equal to the subjective value of those of Hitomaro, which are rich in

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exquisite phraseology. His poems on Mount Fuji, both in the short and long forms, are indeed well-known. His short one, which is very popular, is as follows :

Coming out from the Bay of Tago,
I see upon the lofty peak of Fuji
The snow fall all in white.

The description, as you see, is extremely simple and natural. It is an exact sketch of what his eyes saw and of the mountain of which the view has never changed since he made this poem. In one of the long poems, he looks at Fuji with wonder and admiration and thinks that its beauty should be told from mouth to mouth without end. He praises it almost in ecstacy :

Of Yamato, the land of Sunrise,
It is the peace-giver, it is the gold, it is the treasure.
On the peak of Fuji, in the land of Suruga,
I never weary of gazing.

Besides these two poets, who are the most prominent figures in the Manyoshu, there are many other authors of whon many are women, proving that the Nara period was indeed a "woman's era".

Of this anthology, as well as almost all others subsequently published, it is to be noted that the dominant fact is that the poems were nearly always composed with fine, delicate sentiments, rather than in strong, rigorous, argumentative moods. The sensibilities of these poets, evidently averse to sharp mental conflict, were confined within a somewhat narrow range of emotion. This accounts clearly for the absence of war-songs or poems on hatred, anger, and revenge.

For instance, Hitomaro may be glorified as the Japanese Homer, but in fact he did not write an Iliad. Warfare and any such atrocities, unlike the case in later times, obviously were not their favourite subjects. They mourned frankly over the loss of their beloved ones; showed no hesitation in enjoying beauty, either inorganic or human. They loved as their hearts commanded, and were sensitive to the charm of nature.

Since we are such things
That, if we are born,
We must some day die,
So long as the life lasts,
Let us enjoy ourselves.

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Or,

On the spring moor
To gather violets
I went forth ;
Its charm so held me
That I stayed till dawn.

It is true that Confucianism had entered the country with the Chinese language, but it remained practically dormant for more than 1,000 years, while Buddhism, with its rapid propagation after the sixth century, greatly influenced not only the thoughts of the people but all branches of art. However, the Buddhism that was a dominant force in those days seemed to teach men but little fear of after-death, at least to a much lesser degree than in the later periods. The æsthetic activity of this epoch was indeed immensely indebted to Buddhist influence. And it is interesting to note that a touch of Indian and Greek arts, or better to say, Graeco-Buddhist art, is found in the architecture, even with, as Dillon says, "the undoubted presence of Persian, more precisely of Sassanian, motives", which all came with Buddhism.

This was also the case with the dress of the period, which was a fine mixture of the Chinese, Korean, and Indian styles. It lookd certainly elegant, but not so sumptuous as that of the following era. Here too, a skillful Japanese interpretation is to be traced vividly.

To sum up, this was the age in which the marked tendency to appreciate delicacy and elegance, characteristic of the Japanese temperament, started. And I am inclined to believe that the original Japanese nature is to be found within the range of this tendency. If only, we may assume, such a tendency had lasted unmolested throughout Japanese history, the feature of the later civilization would have been wholly different.

Heian Period (794—1186)

In 794, as already stated, Emperor Kammu removed the capital from Nara to the City of Heian, the City of Peace and Ease, which was the old name of the present Kyoto. The new capital was laid out rectangularly and divided symmetrically by roads into squares. The Imperial Palace was situated in the north centre of it, from which ran in a straight line the main street called the large thoroughfare of Suzaku. The city itself was not walled as those in China or medieval Europe, but its three sides were surrounded, as the name of the province,

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Yamashiro suggests, by hills and mountains. These mountains and the lovely rivers, Kamo and Katsura, enclosed not only a quiet and beautiful city, but were also conducive to the elegant and graceful atmosphere in which Japanese literature flourished with unparalleled glory.

The main motive of this transfer of the capital may be ascribed, in short, to "a scheme for the better centralization of administrative power." For the growing strength of Buddhism that had augmented the ecclesiastical influence and the incessant intrigues of the great houses and the increasing wealth of some landholders tended to overshadow the central government. The Emperor, well aware of these dangers, resolved to transfer the seat of the government to divert the tide of the menace. Thereupon alterations were made in the administrative organs and a university was established under his charge.

But the Emperor's rigorous attempt to effect a radical reform did not survive him long and the results began to wane with the rise of the Fujiwara family, finally almost completely to disappear. The Fujiwara family soon became the paramount force in the government and love of luxury and pleasure grew amazingly. Men and women busied themselves with composing poems, playing on musical instruments, dancing and visiting the enchanting hills and dales near the city. Under such circumstances, culture was monopolized by the privileged class and the literary activity remained confined with life at court.

Poetry Becomes Popular

In fact, an ordinary conversation between these people was frequently carried on in the form of poetry, one asking in verse and the other answering in it. Not seldom, even obviously unpardonable crimes committed by members of this group were pardoned due to the merit of their poems.

Beside this, a young lady, for instance, saved her beloved plum-tree from being taken away by Imperial order, as she sang on the spot a sympathetic poem of her own composition that pleased the Emperor.

A court lady named Izumi Shikibu composed a poem in quest of rain in a long period of dry weather and the rain, it is said, actually began to fall while the prayers of some celebrated priests had been a failure,

In a little later period, a venerable priest incurred trouble because of having composed a skilful love poem, and, as the jealousy of the

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courtiers almost sentenced him to exile, another poem still more skilful saved him from punishment. Again, a military man called Genzanmi was in love with a woman much above him and got not only her, but also a promotion in rank by virtue of his fine poems. Such examples are indeed numerous during these times.

Japanese verse, owing to the vogue of Chinese poetry, had been in a temporary eclipse after the Manyoshu. But at the end of the nineth century, it regained its popularity, with the compilation of the first collection of the best poems since the Manyoshu under Imperial auspices. The chief compiler of this anthology, called the Kokidshu, was Kino Tsurayuki, a distinguished courtier. He not only completed this work in 922, but also wrote in 935 Tosa Nikki, a diary of his journey to the province of Tosa, of which he was appointed governor. Works of this type were produced at intervals throughout the 10th century.

Tale Of Genji

And then came the Tale of Genji (Genji Monogatari), a novel written by a court lady, Murasaki Shikibu, sometime between 1008 and 1020. So much has been said already about this novel that it seems unnecessary to dwell upon it in detail. Suffice it to say that it is the greatest literary work that Japan has ever produced in volume as well as in value. This is a story based upon the life at court, consisting of 54 books, narrating the lifelong love episodes of Prince Genji, his son, and grandson. The prince was indeed so uncommonly handsome that "people called him Hikaru Genji, or Genji the Shining One."

"Though it seemed a shame to put so lovely a child into man's dress," says the Tale, "he was now I2 years old and the time for his initiation was come. The Emperor directed the preparations with tireless zeal and insisted upon a mangificence beyond what was prescribed."

The ceremony was arranged and that day Genji, having arrived at the appointed hour, had "his long childish locks" bound "with the purple fillet." His dress was also changed according to the ceremony, but then, in spite of the general fear that his delicate features would be spoiled, "he looked handsomer than ever."

Aged I6 we hear him already discussing feminine character with some friends. This discussion is called "the talk of a rainy night" forming a celebrated chapter in the Tale. It so happens that "on a night

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when the rain never ceased its dismal downpour", Genji sits quietly in his room, "looking at various books and papers." Suddenly he pulls some letters out of the drawers of a desk, arousing the curiosity of his young friend, who insisted upon seeing them. The letters are, of course, love letters and their conversation grows on the subject of women. Presently two more young men join the discussion and the conversation goes on all night, bringing no definite conclusion. But all this while Genji, though sometimes joining in, is thinking of one person only, fully convinced that "there is no one like her,"

In learning, indeed, no one could excel Genji in their profundity or speed, but where his genius was really unparalleled was in love-making. Much has been said on the morality of the Genji, but the story is, after all a faithful description of the age and country in which the author lived. Here is a passage which describes a feast at the palace :

"Toward the end of the second month the cherry flowers at the front of the Southern Palace were coming into blossom and a feast was given to celebrate the occasion. All the Imperial princes, nobles, and literati were assembled and among them the Emperor made his appearance....When all the seats were taken, the composing of poems, as was the custom, commenced, and they began picking up the rhymes. ... . Meanwhile, they all partook of the feast, the selected musicians played their parts, and, as the sun was setting, 'the Spring-lark Sings' was danced, succeeded by 'the Willow and Flower Garden'. After them many young nobles danced indiscriminately, one after another. And then lamps were brought in as the reading of the poems began and, late in the evening, they all took leave. The palace grounds now became quiet and deserted and over them the moon shone with her soft light."

Prior to the publication of the Genji Monogatari, already a few novels had been published. Taketori Monogatari, for instance, is a charming fairy-tale written in a simple, unaffected style. The scene is laid in the neighbourhood of Kyoto with the characters all Japanese. Its language, too, is almost pure Japanese,

Ochikubo Monogatari, which is assigned to the period between 967 and 969, narrates the story of a young lady of noble birth who has been ill-treated by her step-mother, but is saved by a young nobleman who falls in love with her. There are three or four more novels quite interesting, all written in the pure Japanese language.

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To make an interesting contrast to the Genji Monogatari, there is Makura-no-Soshi (Pillow Sketches) a collection of the rambling notes of another lady-in-waiting called Seisho Nagon. It was written about 1000, A. D. giving, like the Genji, a full description of life at court.

Both Murasaki Shikibu and Seisho Nagon were of equal excellence in learning and the art of writing. But Seisho Nagon unlike the other, shows vividly her cleverness and somewhat cynical and even slightly haughty nature, in her dashing way of writing. Had she lived in the present day, she would unhesitatingly have placed herself at the head of the feminist movement.

Other diaries, rambling notes, and outstanding novels were also written by the court ladies or the daughters of some courtiers, thus supporting the Chinese designation of Japan as the "Queen Country". Women at that time were highly educated, allowed a share in inheritance and their own houses, and though not actually in the government, they occupied important offices at court. No social gathering was complete without their presence and no masculine tyranny was able to stand either in society or individual life. And while learned men still continued to write in Chinese, women wrote in pure Japanese style using their national language, to produce most of the important literature of Japan. Students of Japanese civilization and the advocates of Japanese spirit may well be advised not to overlook these interesting facts.

These works of literature manifestly indicate the strong influence of epicureanism. A gentle melancholy over the ephemerality of life lingers like the soft breeze of late spring, but a keen desire to enjoy each transitory moment shines like the sun in early summer ; and glad of the privilege of being alive, those people remain almost entirely indifferent to the waggings of the outer world.

Apart from their personal misfortune, there was nothing much that troubled their souls. The sky was blue and flowers were lovely ; their business was but to sing and enjoy them. If they met with love-affairs, besides love itself, there was another matter equally important to make poems as beautifully as they could to win the hearts of their loved ones.

Ise Monogatari, the book of Narihira's love adventures, consists of all his love poems. This man, Narihira, was a courtier and military officer, but the most successful Don Juan of all Don Juans. His life, which extended from 825 to 880, was spent in nothing but love-hunting and ballad-making. Even in his long journey to the plain of

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Musashi, in the environs of the present Tokyo, which was then but a wild moor, he did not seem to neglect these two subjects.

His poem composed in crossing the River Sumida shows the very fine sentiment of a traveller who thinks of his loved one far away. Night then was falling upon the lonely river on which some "birds of the capital", otherwise sea-gulls, were floating. The poet exclaims :

O thou bird of Miyako !
If such be thy name,
Come ! this question I would like to ask :
Is she whom I love.
Still alive or is she no more ?

But soon afterward this handsome nobleman does not refuse some rustic beauties, despite his longing for his home and lover.

The total of his love-affairs, according to the book, amounts to around 125. And in each case he seems to have been nearly always the winner without the slightest use of violence or power. The only things that made him feel unhappy must have been the excessive power of the Fujiwara clan, for which he was no match in competition.

Such an inclination is often seen among men of poetic character. We find it in Shelley, Byron, Heine, and many others, who all disliked tyranny in any form. Narihira, we may imagine, was but one of them. Only, in spite of his powerlessness, he at least won a game against the powerful Fujiwara by seducing the sister of the Prime Minister, the head of that family, causing him great annoyance.

At that time, to fall in love was not regarded as a crime, as in the Tokugawa or even our own times. No one was upbraided for having fallen in love or having declared it in poems. The question was solely concerned with how beautifully and effectively the poems were composed.

Narihira, who made love to many ladies of high rank, composed one day a bold poem wishing the guardian of the mansion where the noble lady dwelt would fall asleep every evening when he desired to call on her. But no trouble was inflicted upon him and after his death a shrine was erected in the capital in his memory.

Some critics say that Narihira led purposely a life of debauchery to disguise his plot against the Fujiwaras. It might have been the case to a certain extent, but I am not so ready to accept this view totally.

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He was a romantic poet, just like Byron and Musset, and not a Casanova. And for me this is enough to account for his conduct. On the other hand, if he made love while he really did not love, such conduct, I fear, must be censured.

At the same time, Ono-no-Komachi, a court lady of extreme beauty, caused the death of an amorous nobleman in testing his sincerity, or perhaps, in mere cajolery, having forced him to come a long way to knock at her door for 100 winter nights but without being admitted before the expiration of the agreed term.

Or, again, Murasaki Shikibu, author of the Tale of Genji, disappointed the all-powerful Prime Minister, Michinaga Fujiwara, in his way to her heart.

So far, while men seemed busy in love and ballad-making, women, though equally busy in the same matters, appear to have known how to defend their chastity in case of necessity. For those women, in fact, chastity existed as a virtue for their own interest and not as a trammel to restrict their personal liberty for the benefit of men's selfish demands. Indeed, sexual intercourse is a matter that concerns nobody save those who are engaged in it. Hence, there was no need of inventing the chastity belt nor the necessity of condemning love as an offense against morals.

Following the general tide of luxury and extravagance at court, costume too reached the height of beauty and elaboration, Men's robes had large and long sleeves and trousers cut full to be tied at the bottoms ; woman's robes, worn with red trousers were so long that they trailed on the floor a few feet and became exceedingly colourful and voluminous. These garments were made "of costly and gorgeous brocades and silks with beautiful patterns and splendid embroideries".

A well-dressed man wore several suits, "one above the other, disposing them so that their various colors showed in harmoniously contrasting lines at the folds on the bosom and at the edges of the long sleeves".

He had also to powder his face, paint his eyebrows, and rouge his cheeks to complete his toilet, while a fine lady *a la mode* would put on as many as 20 garments, one above the other, not to look bulky but to produce a play of harmonious colours. Her hair was extremely long, parted in the middle of the head to hang flowingly below her elaborate skirt. The following paragraph from the Diary of Murasaki Shikibu gives a full illustration of a parade of beautiful dresses :

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"The dress of the ladies on the first day was robes of purple and old rose, red underdresses, and shaded trains ; on the second day, red and purple brocade, deep violet glossy silk, green robes, trains dyed by rubbing flowers. On the third day, we wore white and rose-coloured brocaded garments, trimmed with many folds. The robes were of dull red and old rose brocade. When we wear crimson outside, the inner dress is usually of deep voilet. The pale and deep colour of spring leaf buds, dull red, golden yellow, and light and dark crimsons—dresses of these ordinary colours were worn trimmed with six folds in very beautiful combinations."

And so life appeared happy and sumptuous, and pomp, grace, and ease reigned in the period. But the time arrived at last for Venus and the Muse to retire when some military men were allowed to sit on the floor in the Palace. And the curtain began to fall upon the age of peace and refinement.

Kamakura (1186—1332) And Muromachi (1332—1603) Periods

The Kamakura period opens with the books of war. Hogen and Heiji Monogatari by Tokinaga Hamuro illustrate the civil disturbances and conflicts in the capital. Gempei Seisuiki, believed to be by the same author, describes very interestingly the rise and fall of the Heike and Genji clans.

Heike Monogatari, which is written in beautiful poetic prose, deals with practically the same events of the day. Only, it is made a little more tedious than the other three by its religious and moral interpretations. The authorship and date of this tale are curiously uncertain, although according to Tsurezure Gusa, the author is identified with the former governor of a province, Yukinaga, who, having shaved his head, wrote the stories to be sung by biwahoshi (bonzes who played the biwa, a kind of four-stringed lute).

The common fact concerning these historical works is that the authors of them, if not to be called obscure, at least do not make the same brilliant appearance as the two court ladies whom I introduced previously. It follows then that, whoever they may have been, they were not men of great importance, despite their literary talent, and the moods in which they wrote were undeniably under a certain influence of Budhist pessimism.

The horror of fighting, actual examples of human barbarity and evanescence, must have dealt a terrible blow to their minds. The

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standard of morality in which they had hitherto had faith was seen pitiably smashed by flash of the sword. A general openly killed his father and brothers murdered each other in cold blood.

Here blood flowed like a stream, a mass of fire reflected the very image of hell, here men yelled and woman shrieked and the world around them looked like one large slaughter-house.

"The sound of the bell of the Gion Monastery echoes the impermanence of all things. The hue of the flowers of the teak tree declares that those who flourish must be brought low. Yea, the proud ones are but for a moment, like an evening dream in springtime. The mighty are destroyed at the last, they are but as the dust before the wind."

Compare these famous opening words of Heike Monogatari with those of Makura-no-Soshi :

"In spring, it is interesting to watch the dawn grow gradually whiter and whiter, till a faint rosy tinge crowns the mountain's crest, while slender streaks of purple cloud extend themselves above."

Thus, alas, the age of soft elegance ended forever. Beauty, charm, and splendor became things of the past. Man's life, whosoever he might be, now looked like nothing more stable than a flickering light. And amid the endless turmoil, the only path open to mankind, had they the sense to abhor hell-fire, led to a monastery gate.

This tendency reaches its height in Hojoki, written by Kamo-no—Chomei, a resentful Shinto priest. To illustrate the utter pessimism of the author, nothing is more eloquent than the opening words, which read:

"The current of a running stream flows on unceasingly, but the water is not the same ; the foam floating on the pool where it lingers, now vanishes and now forms again, but is never lasting. Such is the fate of mankind and their habitations. In a splendid capital where the dwellings of the exalted and lowly join their roof-trees, and with their tiles jostle one another, they may appear to go on from generation to generation. But we shall find, if we make inquiry, that there are in reality but few which are ancient. Some were destroyed last year to be rebuilt this year ; others, which were great houses, have been ruined, and replaced by smaller ones. The same is true of their inmates".

Some time in 1181 or 1182, a terrible famine accompanied by a pestilence devastated a large part of the country. Chomei's memory

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of its horrible disaster made his pen run with high-pitched eloquence. "By garden walls or on the roadsides countless persons died of famine and, as their bodies were not removed, the world was filled with evil odors." The spring was succeeded by the summer and the winter brought a new year. But in spite of everybody's hope and prayers, the state of things went from bad to worse. Within the capital alone, the number of the corpses found in the street and river-bed during two months was 42,000

Indeed, the ruthless blast of mutability blew against all mortals. The actual teaching of nature's lack of discrimination toward all earthly existence was but to push the bewildered souls to seek refuge where an worldly vicissitudes would come to disturb them. Hence, the easy doctrine of Jodo or the Zen teaching the mental equanimity gained popularity in preference to the ritual and esoteric cults of Tendai and Shingon.

Chomei himself, having been a Shinto priest, retired from the world to shut himself up in a small hut, which remained "secure and undisturbed", while a great number of people died and numerous houses were destroyed in the capital. And satisfied with "a bed to lie upon at night and a mat to sit on in the daytime", his days passed in quiet seclusion with a statue of Amida Buddha and a copy of the Buddhist sutra beside him. But among those who followed a similar way, the most celebrated was a soldier called Saigyo.

Saigyo, a military officer attached to the guard of the retired Emperor Toba, was born in 1118. Celebrated for his courage and military training though he was, the awakening of his inner life induced him to throw away his sword and, leaving his wife and 4 years old daughter at home, he wandered as a poet-monk. Travelling about here and there, he composed numerous poems during his 50 years' vagrancy.

But notwithstanding his apparent serenity of mind, his poems speak yet of an unmistakable trait of pessimism in the depths of his heart that struggled between emotion and self-surrender.

"*How can this passion still posses my soul,*
When, methought, I had utterly renounced the world?

The solitary figure of a monk in sedge-hat and black robe loitering about as the wind blew, now gazing at a nameless stream, now wishing to die under a blooming cherry, would make of itself fine poetry. With his placid resignation to the ups and downs of the

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world and his calm contemplation of nature with which he learned to unite his heart, Saigyo indeed makes a vivid picture of an age of decadence.

"Methought I had no desire of living longer ;
Yet why should I not long to see another year,
Again this pure moonlight of restful autumn?"

Two noted literary productions of the Muromachi period, the one entitled Taiheiki, a narrative of historical events in which violence crushes justice, and the other, a collection of rambling notes, called Tsurezure Gusa (already referred to), were written by two priests.

Taiheiki begins with the description of the Shogunate government of Minamoto Yoritomo, founded in 1181, and, narrating interestingly the events of the reign of Emperor Go-Daigo from 1319 to 1339, ends with the reign of Emperor Go-Murakami in 1368. Although its historical value is to be a little discounted, its language is nevertheless beautiful with a fine combination of the Chinese and Japanese tongues.

Tsurezure Gusa is one of the celebrated works in Japanese literature. Its author, Kenko, was a Buddhist priest, a man of good family. After the death of the Ex-Emperor, Go-Uda, in 1324, he retired from public life, living in the neighbourhood of the capital. Kenko, Buddhist though he was, was the sort of man who had "more than a mere tolerance for other faiths, with the liberal comprehensiveness characteristic of the Japanese nation". He wrote these rambling notes "to while away the livelong days of tedium", as he tells in the opening of the book. Here are some short paragraphs exracted from it :—

"However accomplished a man may be, if he is destitute of gallantry, he is a very lonely being. Such a one reminds me of a costly wine-cup that has no bottom."

"If, even without any pious intentions whatever, we kneel down before the Buddha, and take in our hands the sacred book and the bell, a good work goes on of itself within us. If, even with wandering minds, we take our seat on the ropemat, unaware we become absorbed in devout contemplation."

"There is no greater pleasure than, alone by the light of a lamp, to open a book and make the men of the unseen world our companions".

"It is not only when we look at the moon or flowers with our eyes that they give us pleasure On a spring day, though we do not

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leave our house, on a moonlight night, though we remain in our chamber, the mere thought of them is exceedingly cheering and delightful."

Yokyoku or No drama, which was produced early in the 15th century, was as generally surmised, the work of Buddhist monks. Its stories are in the main of a dismal nature, dealing with ghosts and telling of the tortures of hell, finally to promote religious aspiration.

Thus, without counting some minor works, the literature that had flourished at court in the previous period, now was handed down to monks and recluses. Moral codes, having been shaken at their very basis, lost their power as criteria of human society. And in their place a new rule, invented to suit the assumption of the strong, flaunted the principle that "might is right".

However, the strong cannot remain always strong, and the mighty, by nature's law, "are but as the dust before the wind." If, therefore, might is right, then the essence of justice must change every moment, meaning that there is no justice at all. Hence those who could not accept this situation became weary and disgusted and abandoned the world to comfort their afflicted souls with writing.

Force Withers Literature

The governments, successively formed by military men, obviously had little or no inclination to respect culture. A Shogun, Sanetomo, the third and last Shogun of the Minamoto clan, was assassinated by his vassal because he had poetic talent rather than political ability. And the outrage of Yoshitoki established lawlessness to last for seven centuries, in which justice and conscience had to bow tacitly where the sword flashed.

Women, who had enjoyed freedom and had manifested excellence in literature, were alost entirely deprived of their activities. And literature with a marked inclination toword decadent sentimentalism continued to decline until the Tokugawa period.

However, it is rash to assume that these military epochs rendered no service to cultural development. The Muromachi period, in fact, under the auspices of some of the Ashikaga Shoguns, brought about a renaissance in art and literature. The frugal austerity of life under the Hojo governments was replaced by lavish extravagance and the refinements of the Heian period, which had been rejected by the military men, gradually revived.

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The No drama, for instance, which developed from the Sarugaku hitherto played at the shrines and temples, owes its production to the artistic encouragement of the third Shogun, Yoshimitsu. The versatility of the eighth Shogun, Yoshimasa, made indeed no small contribution to all branches of art, especially to painting, establishing the Kano school which in turn gave birth to the genius of Sesshu. The Ginkakuji (Silver Pavilion), which was originally built as the villa of Yoshimasa, is celebrated for its magnificence together with the Kinkakuji (Golden Pavilion) of Yoshimitsu, both of which are among the most famous places of interest in Kyoto.

In this epoch, the Zen sect reached the height of its prosperity. Five fanes belonging to this sect were recognised by the government as the five leading temples of Kyoto against those of Kamakura, and the priests, being closely connected with the Shoguns and the powerful lords, greatly helped the development of the painting of the Sung school mainly, India-ink drawing, achieving a synthesis of Buddhist religion, Chinese art, and Japanese sentiment. The tea ceremony was also an outcome of this popularity of the Zen principle.

Two noteworthy things occured to customs in this period. One was the habit of shaving the crown of the head, started by the military men for special purposes. Court nobles and civil officials, however did not follow this habit ; they still wore their hair long, gathered in a bunch and bound with a strand of twisted paper.

The other habit that came into vogue was to stain the teeth black. This habit had hitherto been practised only by court nobles, but was now adopted by the military men too. The crown-shaving habit became universal in the Tokugawa period, but the custom of blackening the teeth became confined to married women during that period.

Women continued to wear their hair long and those of the upper classes, wore loose trousers, while among those of the lower classes, skirted robes, which later became common garments in Tokugawa days made their appearance. The obi, that girdle characteristic of Japanese dress, was not yet known in this epoch and instead women used a narrow belt of silk round the waist as a mere fastener, which was completely covered by a long, flowing robe. In fact, the girdle which is known to us as the obi was not worn until the close of the 16th century, Women also wore large hats when they went out, while men invented the kami-shimo which afterward became the ceremonial costume for the samurai.

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Thus the Muromachi period, though a time of military government, was not without artistic merit, until civil wars broke out again toward the close of it. Indeed the Japanese, whether by nature or tradition, have never been deprived of their artistic expression. Even disaster and destruction had always failed to suppress their unquenchable thirst for beauty of colour and form. With them, again, the flow of artistic ideas and expressions seems to remain unmolested, never completely wiped out, by the effects of the rigid Spartan spirit and the occasional interruptions of violence.

Tokugawa Period (1603—1868)

With the establishment of the Tokugawa government, peace was thoroughly restored throughout the country to last for two and half centuries. However, those who win victory by force are usually compelled to hold it by the same method, lest their power should fall.

If the Tokugawas were able to come into power, it was the result of the battle of Sekigahara, in which the Toyotomi force failed to win the game. But popularity was then rather on the side of Toyotomi, under whose liberal government the nation began to enjoy prosperity in commerce. Therefore, there was no popular demand for the Toyotomi government to be replaced by the Tokugawa.

Unfortunatlely, the death of the hero Hideyoshi Toyotomi gave an opportunity to Ieyasu Tokugawa to rebel against the Toyotomi government. As the result, Ieyasu became the conqueror and formed his own government.

Peace and order were therefore necessary, mainly to maintain the stability of the government rather than for the benefit of the people. Those who fought for the Tokugawas did so merely because they foresaw that it would be to their interest to do so. But they might rise again in arms at any moment if they found no satisfaction under the new rule. Such is the usual aspect of feudalism, in which reason submits itself to power. To secure authority under these circumstances, nothing would be more effective than the rigorous practise of the feudal regime. And so, first of all the distinction between the ruling class and the ruled had to be fundamentally established, so that orders would be enforced from above to be obeyed without criticism. Hence the people were taught "to rely" on the government and not "to know" its policy.

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Drastic measures were taken to wipe out completely the liberal and democratic ideas that began to prevail in the previous age to be replaced by a prescribed morality. And the country was shut up to stop the penetration of foreign civilization as well as money,

Meanwhile, however, the rise of the bourgeoisie awoke among the people artistic enthusiasm and a desire for refinement. The civilization of the Heian period, though in much more plebeian aspects, gradually revealed itself depite the ever-imposing oppression The tragedies of Chikamtsu represent the pathetic struggle of these people between the artificial morality and the claim of their natural instincts.

But the world described by Saikaku defies mockingly the general standard of morals, plunging headlong into the abyss of sensual pleasures. His Koshoku Ichidai Otoko (the story of a great admirer of ladies) was written undoubtedly under the influence of the Tale of Genji. It is the story of a man whose life was spent in one long series of lustful adventures. Even at the end, instead of falling into hell as Don Juan of Moliere, he complacently sails in a small boat for an imaginary island where the only inhabitants are women.

This novel alone, without referring to other works by the same author, gives a vivid illustration of the type of his literature. I cannot tell, however, if Saikaku actually adored a life of this type, for behind the gratification of the flesh and the mordant defiance of morals so characteristic of all his works we find yet a sentiment strangely cold almost desperately sad, with a cruel smile lingering over the flesh and its inevitable destiny.

"Ah, sad is the flesh and I have read all books," said d'Annunzio somewhere ; and this sadness, apparently different in its element from that of the weak and oppressed, seems to produce the same pain, perhaps more biting, in the human soul.

The tragedies of Chikamatsu, in which men and women obediently follow the command of the order, and the unmolested epicureanism of Saikaku, thus starting from different directions, unexpectedly meet in the end to acknowledge that after all life is sad. In neither of them, nor in any literature throughtout this period, will one find that soft lingering charm of life, characteristic of the Nara and Heian periods.

The mental struggle of the people between an unnatural restraint and natural desire produced arts of a curious mixture of humor, grossness, and sentimental delicacy. Even Bakin, whose works follow a

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rigid moral line, was inclined to interweave almost ridiculous imagination with authentic historical events. Kabuki may be regarded as the best example of this kind of art. The novels from Kyoden down to Samba and Ikku, including the *hokku* and *senryu*, though different in type and character, largely represent such a trend of time in which the only way to release the pent-up sentiments was to take things humorously and to enjoy life where the restraint was least rigid.

Kyoden's fiction, except the first one or two works, reminds me somewhat of the novels of Alexandre Dumas, full of sensational events, murders, suicides, thefts, combats, and so on. He started his career as a merchant of smoking apparatus and some kind of medicine. But he soon found his ability in writing fiction and so became a professional novelist, rapidly gaining popularity, so much so as to insist on regular payment for his work. Such a custom had not definitely been practised by his predecessors, but was now followed by all authors.

However, this profession of writing novels became an object of disgust to the authorities. To those rulers, indeed to write stories, whether fictitious or real, must have seemed utter nonsense and harmfull. It was like the Catholic conception of heresy in the 16th century; as everything that was not in accordance with the orthodox teaching of the church was condemned as a crime everything that did not suit the ideas of the rulers had to be suppressed.

So, what had seemed nonsense now became a nuisance, and Kyoden was punished with 50 days' handcuffs for having written of the life in the brothel-quarters. Similar punishments were inflicted on many others, absurd though it appears, in total negligence of the fact that it was the government itself which had established, or at least had recognized, that quarter. Yet the quarter still existed while not a few writers were prosecuted under the law issued in 1791.

In 1826, Mizuno Echizen-no-Kami, the head of the Tokugawa government and a wholesale reformer, promulgated decree after decree banning luxury and pleasure "to restore the austere fashions of former times." Expensive constumes were seized and burned; theatres were suppressed and actors ostracized; a severe censorship was imposed on all publications; and "even children's toys were legislated for". This drastic policy is known as the Tempo Reformation, but it ended none the less in the complete failure of its purpose, as did the effort of Savonarola.

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Tanehiko narrowly escaped punishment, while Shunsui died undergoing a sentence of confinement in handcuffs. Shumsui Tamenaga, who was a bookseller of Yedo and a pupil of Samba, is reproached for his immoral novels. But his Umego-yomi (Plum Calendar) is not altogether without some charm with its fine language.

Samba and Ikku appeared fairly safe, because, instead of pornography, they wrote humorous stories of plain plebeian life and travel. Samba's Ukiyo Buro (World's Bath-house) describes amusingly the everyday life of the common people assigning the dialogues to the frequenters of a public bath-house.

Ikku's Hizakurige is a voluminous work consisting of 12 parts. The first part was written in 1802, but the last did not appear until 1822. It is the history of the travels, mostly on foot, of two commoners named Yajirobei and Kidahachi, along the Tokaido and other great highways of Japan. It is indeed interesting with their manifold adventurers and mishaps, which are narrated in a light and comic style.

In those days some actors, singers, and painters (the famous Utamaro included) shared the same fate as the authors, when their mode of life and work failed to meet the government's approval.

Indeed, people might have liked to laugh heartily, but instead they smirked; they might have been delighted with open love-making as in the Heian period, but they had to search for it in the licensed quarter. Only the scholars of the Chinese language and the revivalists of old Japanese literature were not only free from pesecution, but were also prosperous, owing to the prevalence of Confucianism which was almost the state teaching.

On the other hand, men of different inclination sought companionship with Nature. Like Saigyo, but not necessarily pessimistic, they found the world weary and too troublesome to live in. So they went in search of tranquillity and they heard "the still sad music of humanity" delicately echoed in the calmness and apparent indifference of Nature. Basho, Issa, and Ryokan may be classified in this type.

Like Saigyo, Basho was a great traveller and though he had many worthy pupils, he never liked to stay long in one place, happy in his journey almost as poor as a beggar. One day he met some highwaymen on a road and he was only too glad to give them all he had, even his clothes and calmly continued his solitary walk, making

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a poem of his experience. His days were spent in excursions and his impressions, having penetrated into the very heart of nature, manifested themselves in the form of the *hokku*, that 17-syllable poem which was the product of this period. The following hokku may give his very image:

On a withered branch
A crow is sitting
This autumn eve.

Issa was also an itinerant haikai (hokku) poet.

Do not strike.
See, the fly is rubbing
Its hands and legs.

In spite of his apparent nonchalance and love of vagrancy, this short poem speaks, perhaps more clearly than a voluminous doctrine, of the philanthropy of the true human nature that loves all living creatures.

The age of lawlessness and violence sent men of letters into seclusion. The age of artificial morality and bureaucartic tyranny produced a decline in national activities as stagant water becomes putrified ; the peace and order of two and a half centuries were at last broken.

Meiji Era (1868—1912)

The fall of the Tokugawa government which brought forth the Meiji restoration in 1868 pushed Japan abruptly into a new phase of civilization. This was indeed the time when Japan embarked vigorously on the reconstruction of thc country following the newest tide of a civilization hitherto unknown to her,

True, feudalism was officially abolished and Western civilization swept in with amazing rapidity. But one thing must be borne in mind in giving a fair criticism of the period. The work of restoration was not accomplished by the people who would have demanded absolute emancipation from feudal oppression. Certainly feudalism was destroyed outwardly, but it was so politically rather than spiritually. Inwardly feudalism still remained in both those who governed and those who were governed. And the social structure was none the less top-heavy. This is an important consideration in the study of the literature of this period.

The men who were substituted for the leaders of the Tokugawa government and its feudal lords were by no means chosen by the

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people, as was George Washington. George Washington "accepted no pay as commander in chief : he accepted none as President of the United States". For him the duty to work for the benefit of the people was sublime and there was no necessity to strengthen his power. But those men who formed the Meiji government had first of all to consolidate their newly established government which was still in embryo. And to achieve it, they believed that their own power should be made supreme. Hence the exaltation of official at the expense of private life.

Outwardly the distinction of classes was no longer in existence. The samurai caste lost all the privileges it had enjoyed for seven centuries. But bureaucracy, almost as much as in the past generations, came to predominate in a new form, backed up by the military authorities. The same Confucian maxim. "Let the people *rely on*, but do not let them *know*," that I quoted in the previous chapter, was a principle largely maintained by the holders of power.

On the other hand, the people who had been accustomed to the long reigns of bureaucratic and military autocracies, were not as yet fully awakened to claim their "Rights of Man". The spirit of subserviency still lingered in their half-opened minds. However, the government as well as the people was then duly aware of one thing that appeared to both irrefutably clear : Japan must develop as a civilized country at all costs. This was their common desire and object, and to realize it, they dashed desperately ahead, paying little attention to cultural refinements.

They had to build up the country on a modern structure ; enrich it with up to date methods ; and above all arm it as best they could to face the enemy. Consequently, they seemed to enjoy no leisure, or better to say, deliberately avoided it, favoring a rigid Spartan spirit which was thought to be indispensable for the completion of their task.

A natural result of such a tendency was the general negligence of culture. And contrary to the tradition of the Heian period, the literary activity of the nation had little or no opportunity to stand against the overwhelming vigour in pursuing purely practical and materialistic objectives. It is usually believed that Japan learned the utilitarian and materialistic spirit from the Occident. But the fact remains that the Japanese themselves were then too busy to pay much attention to intangible things. The grace and delicacy of the past ages seemed

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suddenly lost and the people galloped with full speed toward their common utilitarian goal.

The outword forms of Western civilization were quickly and effectively established. But the spirit that produced such a civilization seemed to be unduly overlooked. As a matter of fact, no material civilization can claim its existence without the foundation of spiritual culture. Western civilization, which now boasts of its prosperity, made its real start when feudalism was completely destroyed both in form and spirit. What we see nowadays in the Western countries, especially in the United States, is the fruit that has been produced by brains freed from all bonds of medieval conceptions. It is an impossible task to lead a nation with the social and political ideas of the past centuries, while exploiting it with the methods of the 20th century. Yet this impossible way has been the one followed largely by this country since the Restoration.

Newspapers Make Advent

Newspapers were published in the early part of the Meiji era. But the successive governments treated them almost in the same way as in the Tokugawa days ; ban after ban was launched upon them when they did not approve the government policies. The favorite method of the government then used was to suspend publication. The suppression usually lasted from five to 20 days, but sometimes as long as 30 days. This was undoubtedly a tremendous loss to the newspapers. But a greater loss was suffered by losing the subscribers altogether while the sale was suspended. Several newspapers with democratic inclinations frequently met this fate.

The Hochi, for instance, which was not then what it is now, had on the staff that veteran member of the Diet, Yukeo Ozaki. His articles caused it almost invariably to incur trouble with the authority. Besides the Hochi, Ozaki worked for several other papers, but, taking his own confession, he "ruined five or six newspapers", by his pen. Besides Ozaki, such men as Inukai and Shimada, celebrated figures in the history of Japanese constitutionalism, worked for the press, the former, as Ozaki, becoming noted as "a destroyer of newspapers".

Another method employed by the government was, of course, to punish the writers by imprisonment. Nearly all prominent journalists of the day went through the prison gate, among whom Ryuhoku Narishima, Toccho Suehiro, and Katsundo Minoura are well-known.

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Ryuhoku, is noted, together with Robun, as the author of light novels. When he was in the Choya Simbun, he attacked two high officials who were directly responsible for the law to punish differences of opinion. "Of old," he wrote, "there were such crafty officials as Takeshi Inoue and Saburo Ozaki", etc. The result was his immediate imprisonment.

To cope with this suppression, the leading newspapers, save those in favour of the goverment, engagaed special reporters whose sole duty was to go to prison in place of the competent ones who actually wrote the articles. At that time, in spite of some carelessness and vulgarity that spoiled the dignity of the press, it enjoyed at least a certain independence, proud of its privilege of leading the people instead of being led by authority.

In short, such a saying as "Differences of opinion on politics are punished as seditious, on religious topics as blasphemous, and on social questions as immoral and obscene," may be borrwed to describe the situation. Besides this, frequent attempts were made by ruffians on the lives of the writers whose opinions differed from theirs. However, despite persecutions, not a few men seemed courageous enough to face the threat boldly, fully convinced that "The sedition, blasphemy, and immorality punished in one age are often found to be the accepted and sometimes the admired, political, religious, and social teachings of a more advanced period."

Under such circumstances it is not difficult to imagine the fate of the literary activity of the nation. In fact, we can say almost nothing about it, save to mention some political novels written by such journalists as Yano and Ozaki, until the middle of this era. But literature is an effluence of an inword voice, it claims its existence sooner or later, whatever may be the circumstances. And to open a way, some novelists gathered to form a group called the Kenyusha, headed by Koyo Ozaki. This school was based on what may be termed the revival of Tokugawa literature, greatly influenced by Saikaku strongly flavored by romanticism. Koyo practised the language of Saikaku, while Rohan followed largely its spirit. As for Ichiyo, the first woman novelist of prominence in the Meiji era, she seems to have so carefully studied Saikaku's grace and sensibility as to master them as her own.

Koyo was certainly extremely popular at this time, but generally speaking, his works are overloaded with abuse of emotion and unnecessarily callous and lamentable events. Compared with Koyo,

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Rohan was decidedly less emotional and more serious. His historical fiction is rich with "imaginative power, lofty aims, and a fine flow of language," without the extravagances of Bakin.

Ichiyo, who died in 1896 at 24, is distinguished by her very human and especially feminine feelings which pervade her short stories most of which are of a melancholy kind. Her *Nigorie* is unanimously accepted as one of the masterpieces of the Meiji novels.

The name of Sazanami Iwaya is worth remembrance in praise of his Fairy Tales.

I omit a full introduction and criticism of the authors and their works ; so those who are interested in such subjects are invited to read my separate essays on these matters.

Many novelists who flourished afterwards, owe their fame to this school. The most eminent figure among the disciples of Koyo is perhaps Kyoka who, still alive, hold an eminet position in the history of Meiji literature. In those days, to write romances about the life in the licensed quarters was somewhat in vogue and Kyoka made his reputation largely with such works exquisitely written in his special style.

Kafu Nagai also belonged to this school when he started his literary career and although his early influence seems to have been discarded in his later works, it is yet undeniably traceable in his feelings. It is often assumed that Kafu followed deliberately the spirit of Tokugawa civilization when he was disappointed with the culture of his Motherland after his return fron France in 1908. He himself mentioned it in his various works. But the following paragraph indicates some doubt as to the accuracy of such assumption :

"They have the law that regards all sexual pleasure as the greatest social crime. They are the people in whom it is inculcated that it is impossible to stand against the governor and a crying baby. They know that their lips will feel cold if they speak. What can I do then with the paintings that enchanted Verhaeren with their juicy mutton and excellent wine and healthy-looking stout women ? Ah, I love the Ukiyoe, Japanese prints."

Throughout the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa eras nobody except Kafu has ever made such a bold declaration. And yet there is no obvious reason why he should love Japanese prints if he was so much attached to the liberal and democratic civilization of the Occident. But if he chose the Ukiyoe to divert his disappointment and enjoy-

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them all alone in his lonely house, we may as well presume that such a taste had been latent within him, as he confesses in one of his recent works.

To make a contrast with the tendency of the Kenyusha, we must not neglect the merits of such men as Shoyo Tsubouchi, Ogai Mori, and Futabatei Shimei, who all made a great contribution to the translation of Westen literature. The most noteworthy work of Shoyo Tsubouchi was "to bring back the nation to more rational literary principles". In his Shosetsu Shinzui (1885) and Shosei Katagi (1887), he gave a lead to the movement of a realistic school, denouncing the artificial morality of the Tokugawa epoch, especially of Bakin's writings. Among his excellent plays the palm is given to Kirihitoha, which has been played with success by the competent actors of Tokyo.

Translations indeed made rapid progress with appalling popularity. And with them were introduced naturalism which was somewhat misunderstood in this country. Katai Tayama and Shusei Tokuda were the leaders of this newly imported movement, but it was a little misrepresented by the partial introduction which was inclined to overcharged descriptions of sexual life. And many works were banned on grounds of immorality. Indeed Madame Bovary or Nana might have been studied, but Germinal seemed neglected. A similar comment may be made upon romanticism and humanism. Before a single author appeared to challenge Hugo or Tolstoi in greatness, writers of this movement were doomed to pass away not much noticed, knelling the short, treacherous day of Mushakoji's humanism. After English and French literature came Russian literature with startling popularity. But this too, has failed to produce a Dostoievsky in the Japanese language.

As a short story writer, the name of Doppo Kunikida should be remembered with admiration. And as a follower of Tolstoi, Roka Tokutomi deserves appreciation, while Soseki Natsume embellished the close of the period with his metaphysical interpretation and beautiful phraseology.

In the field of essay writing, Chomin Nakae should not be forgotten as a vanguard of democracy. And Chogyu Takayama as a humanist on ethical grounds gained a high reputation, while Tokoku Kitamura met a tragic end probably as the result of the deadlock in his ultra-idealism. Reiun Taoka was also a pathetic figure with all his learning and ability.

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In poetry there was a change in the wording of both the short and long forms. Toson Shimazaki, who was originally a novelist, may be the last poet who left excellent poems written in an old style. New styles combined the written and spoken languages, but later on even the use of the latter alone has been practised.

Not mere Occidental Imitation

It is not uncommonly asserted that modern Japanese literature has been under the strong influence of occidentalism. Some people even conceive that it is a mere imitation of Occidental literature. But from so far as I have stated, such an observation is not to be thoroughly accepted. Certainly there has been a marked influence of Western clvilization that has come like a tidal wave and the remnants of the literature of the past ages seem to have been almost wiped out. However, this accounts only for the fact that a new literature has come to be substituted for the old one, in a form of national literature, albeit still in a transitory condition. The works of all those I have mentioned can assuredly be called pure national literature, whatever may have been the influence upon them. It must be made clear that national literature does not consist of the propaganda of nationalism.

To conclude, in spite of official suppression and general contempt, the Meiji era marked an important period in the development of Japanese literature. True, there was no official collection of poems or publication of voluminous novels such as the Genji ; nor was there the compilation of records as in the Nara period, nor even the creation of an entirely new form of literature as No. In short, there was nothing done for its benefit under the auspices of anybody save through the efforts of the men of letters themselves. But they opened various doors which had hitherto been ignored in the history of Japanese literature, some fighting against poverty, some against persecution, and some against unpopularity. Their work was done and done marvelously. And yet before them there seems to lie still a long way to the Golden Age of literature.

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WORLD OF BOOKS

Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures by H. De Terra of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and by T. T. Paterson of Cambridge University, 1939. PP. 354+54 plates and maps.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington founded in 1902 is one of the leading research centres of the New World. Thanks to the noble initiative of the Institution, the first systematic studies on the Ice Age in India were completed by De Terra and Paterson. Their expedition was sponsored by the Carnegie Institution, Yale University, Cambridge University and the American Philosophical Society. With Dr. Hellmut de Terra, the director of the expedition, was associated T. T. Paterson of Cambridge and P. Teilhard de Chardin, the renowned French paleontologist of the Peking Man's laboratory. Their joint collaboration has produced a report which, for years to come, would be consulted as an authoritative document on the pre-historic archaeology of India.

More than a hundred years ago, through the discoveries of the Siwalik fauna by Falconer and Cautley in 1836, the Siwalik Hills of northern India came to be recognised as one of the chief sources of ancient mammal life. In 1932-33. Dr. De Terra discovered Stone Age artefacts in Kashmir and in the Punjab Salt Range together with a number of new fossil anthropoids from the Siwalik beds. The field-work was resumed in 1935 when two promising Indian scholars Mr. D, Sen and N. K. Aiyengar joined the party exploring thoroughly Kashmir and Jammu, the Salt Range, the Soan Valley of the Patwar region near Rawalpindi and thence through Sukkur region and Mohenjo-Daro, and Narbada Valley to the examination of the terrace geology and archaeology of the region near Madras.

The first part of this valuable report deals with the Ice Age in South Western Kashmir (pp. 1-252). Parts II—V are devoted to Pleistocene and Archaeological studies in other parts of India. Thus they have laid the foundation of a new branch of study which, as they hoped, will "contribute to an understanding of Pleistocene geology and pre-history in Asia" and will encourage "the development of a border science in which geologist and archaeologist joined in a co-operative

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study of human evolution on a geologic basis." The bulk of the book is devoted to the geological and glaciological survey of the zones mentioned above. We are interested in the conclusions with regard to human remains and we draw the attention of our readers to them: Paleolithic man invaded the foothills in the Pnnjab and in Poonch as early as the middle Pleistocene epoch ; but similar records are lacking from Kashmir proper where tools showing flaking tradition in subrecent time have been recovered with potsherds in alluvial deposits on the banks of the Jhelum and in terrace sites of the Neolithic Age. But the chronology of the Neolithic Age in India is still vague. In the megalithic site of Burzahom, between Srinagar and Gandarbal, have been discovered flakes and cores reminiscent of palaeolithic technique, but most of the flakes are associated with pottery-bearing layers of either neolithic or historic date. In the industries of Rohri and Sukkur area we find extensive use of cores and blades of different techniques suggesting that the industries were late, but certainly earlier than the earliest period of the Chalcolithic civilization of the Indus Valley (c. 3000 B. C.). For we notice the absence of pottery and metal in the industries of the Rohri and Sukkur area marking the upper limit of the Chalcolithic age of the Indus. The pre-historic hunter of the Old Stone age apparently found the Pir Panjal Range too dangerous to cross for he "came from Peninsular India where no mountain barriers of equal height and wildness arose on his migration routes." Let us hope that the pre-historians in near future will trace clearly these routes of migration linking up satisfactorily the Stone Age cultures of Madras and Narbada valley with those of the Punjab and Sind. The oldest agricultural period in Mesopotamia range from 4000—6000 B. C. and with the intensive study of similar problems in India we may hope to mark the transition from the pre-agricultural to the agricultural period in the culture history of India, supplying thereby the background to our chalcolithic culture of 4th millennium B. C.

Where Theosophy and Science Meet—Parts I, II, III a collective work edited by Prof. D. D. Kanga, I. E. S. Published by the Adyar Library Association, Adyar, Madras.

Each of the three volumes, as the editor hoped, would serve as a stimulus to modern thought and each volume contains interesting articles by different authors classifying their contributions under four heads : Nature, Man, God and Practical Applications. The general

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attitude behind the publication is defined by Dr. G. Arundale, the President of the Society who writes in his foreword : "Theosophy and Science are already meeting, both in that dreamland of ours which we think is fact-land. This admirable book tells us how this is so, and I commend it most earnestly to all who seek Truth every where, are happy to find it any where, and always hold it lightly, knowing that while Truth is everywhere, our understanding of it must ever be less than it really is." Prof. Kanga himself has contributed important chapters on Physics, Chemistry etc. and concludes his epilogue by stating that "true religion is revolutionary in character" quoting Prof. Radhakrishnan. The books, we are sure, will help theosophists in transvaluating their values and will also help general readers in appreciating their points of view. The book is excellently printed with interesting diagrams and charts.

The Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Vol. XXIII ; Peking, China.

Through this valuable journal which is the organ of the Chinese Social and Political Science Association, we can keep in touch with the cultural activities in Peking. Prof. Kenneth Ch'en of the Oriental Institute University, Hawaii, contributed highly interesting article on the "Cushing Mission" which takes us back to the first Anglo-Chinese War (1839-42) in which China was defeated and was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanking (Aug. 1842) which provided for the opening of Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo and Shanghai to British trading vessels. Mr. Y. Cheng published the first instalment of his studies on Wang Shou-Jen as statesman. But the most valuable study is that of Albert J. Chang on "Some Future Aspects of China-Nipponese relations in long Retrospect". Here he refers to Mac Nair's article on political relationship between China and Japan as well as to a very recent and learned article of Prof. Iwamura published in the Osaka Mainichi. It is entitled as "Retrospect of the Historical relation of East Asian nations", showing clearly that the Government as well as private individuals of China and Japan kept active intercourse with one another through centuries.

The Philippine Social Science Review. Manila.

This important journal is edited by the eminent Philippine historian L. H. Fernandez and published from Rizal Hall of the University of Philippines The population problems have been analysed

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by T. A. Tojo of the Philippine Research Bureau, New York. D. G. Wico has given an able study on the Spanish Civil War and P. S. Castrence has discussed the aesthetic of Tagalog prose. P. E. Abelard of the Department of the Political Science writes on "Philippine on the crossroad of Japan's Southward Expansion."

Intellectual Co-operation Bulletin. January 1940.

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has been publishing, all these years, this valuable bulletin which appears now in its English garb, in response to the suggestions frequently made by the intellectuals of the English speaking world. The institute realizes specially in these days of trial of faith, that we are not only in need of "organised mutual co-operation but of faith in a common ideal which will continue to provide the solid basis for all the tasks undertaken." This new issue starts with a series of "open letters" one on the cultural relations between Europe and Latin America and another on the Problems of War as it affects intellectuals.

We are glad to find special sections on "War and Convention relating to intellectual co-operation." "International student organisation for War-time"; "International Museums News during the period of hostilities", "Fate of the Polish Intellectual", "Modification of Radio Broadcasting caused by the War". The valuable report on the 12th Session of the International Studies' Conference is presented only to remind us that while it was going to meet in Bergen, Norway from Aug. 27 Sept. 2nd, 1939. the War completely upset all cultural activities. We recommend the Bulletin to all learned societies and libraries of India.

Iranian and Indian Analogues of the Legend of the Holy Grail by J. C. Coyajee. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 1-8.

The learned author is well-known in India, specially in Bengal as an authority on Political Economy, but few could suspect that he is a finished Persian scholar as well, who has published "Studies on Shah-Nameh of Ferdousi" and also the "Cults and Legends of ancient Iran and China". In the volume under review he is pursuing the fascinating problem of the Holy Grail. The European students of Comparative Mythology tried to explain the Grail Legend in terms of the hypothesis of its Celtic origin but they ignored the basic fact that the Celtic legends may have been influenced by myths and legends of

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Oriental nations with whom the Celts came into contact before migrating into Europe. Prof. Coyajee has succeeded in demonstrating that the Grail Legends have significant analogous features of Iranian and Indian mythology : quest of the Royal Power by the *Devas* and *Asuras*, fire symbol in the three legends, parallalism between Laskhmi Ashi and Guinevere, the cult of royal glory in Iran and such valuable elements in this study of comparative mythology and literature were brought out by the eminent Persee scholar who adds a new significance to the Indo-Iranian and Indo-European studies. He points out very appropriately that the western world was long under the domination of Mithraism which was saturated with Iranian traditions, *Devas* and *Asuras* joining in the quest which combines the ideals of morality, abundance and empire.

Plantation Scheme for the Sadiya Division for the Years 1938-39 to 1947-48.

Assam became a part of the British India a little over a century ago (1826), but even to-day its economic botany and immense forest resources are very imperfectly known. It is customary of the forest departments of Assam to submit a plan of plantation for ten years to come and in this report prepared by Mr. J. N. Das, Divisional Forest officer, Sadiya, we get the plantation scheme for the decade 1938-1948. Mr. Das is a vetern officer of the department who has devoted years of careful study of the problems of Indian forestry as we feel from some of his contributions to the standard magazine on the subject the "Indian Forester" : he wrote on 'Simul plantation in Assam' and also on 'Holloc Regeneration'. Scientific interest and departmental knowledge apart he shows genuine enthusiasm for this subject. Men like him should be incouraged to make a forest planning on an all-India basis for we are sorry to note that the ignorance of the risk of deforestation is exposing our country to serious economic and natural disasters. Officers like Mr. Das may not only give us timely warning but also can give helpful guidance in the conservation of the Forest wealth of India.

Education and Social amelioration of Women in Pre-Mutiny India by Prof. Dr. Kalikinkar Dutta, Patna College. Price Es. 1-8-0.

History of modern Indian is generaliy neglected by average readers because most of the books of that period give too much economic and administrative details and too little of the social and economic conditions of the people. It is very fortunate that a devoted

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research scholar of the capacity of Prof. Kalikinkar Dutt has concentrated his attention to 18th and 19th centuries, so close to us and yet so vaguely known. He recently earned the Doctor's Degree of the University of Calcutta and by his brilliant study on 'Alivardi and his Time' he has taken us to Pre-Plassy days. In the volume under review Mr. Dutta gave a most encouraging and inspiring narrative of education of women ; the beginning of the widow remarraige movement and *sati* and its abolition. He is perfectly right when he says : "The uplift of women has been one of the important and valuable contributions to the Indian reformation of the 19th century, so that they have come forward to play dignified parts in different spheres of its social and national life". His book gives a connected account of the history of education and social amelioration of women in the Pre-Mutiny days which throws helpful light on our own epoch and we recommend the book to be translated into Hindi and other vernaculars of India for the benefit of our women-folk and social workers.

A Historical Review of Hindu India (300 B. C. to 1200 A. D.) by Panchanana Raya, B. A. Deputy Accountant General, Jaipur State.

The author is a well-known figure in Jaipur who, in the recess of his official duties, very creditably turned his attention to several problems of ancient Indian history and culture. Starting with the Indus civilization, the immigration of the Ambastha Brahmanas in Magadha he takes us to Northern India of the Gupta age to Bengal of the Karnatake Senas. Many scholars naturally may disagree with him in his reading of historical chronology and geography but we cannot help admiring his genuine enthusiasm for historical investigation which has enabled him to throw new light on many problems of our social history. We recommend the book to all research scholars who may get into touch with him and through mutual collaboration may develop new lines of research.

The Gospel of Zoroaster by Bhai Manilal C. Parekh. Price Rs. 3. Harmony House, Rajkot, India,

The author has made comparative religion his special study and in this volume he has given lucid exposition of Zoroastrianism which we are sure will be helpful to all students of religious history. Opening his discussion with the problem of the original home of the Aryans he takes us to the remarkable life and career of the noble sage Zoroaster, his conseption of God, his

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ethical ideas and social gospel. Next he discusses Zoroastrianism and its influence on Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Some chapters are devoted to the Persee exodus from Iran into India, to the Parsee community of India and lastly to his reflections on the future of Zoroastrianism. We notice in recent days how the Persee community, along with other communities in India, is following new urge towards self-renewal and self-expansion. Many of the Parsee foundations and institutions are trying to readjust the programme in the light of current experiences. Therefore we appreciate keenly this valuable study of Mr. Parekh and recommend it to the libraries and universities of India.

Raw Materials And Foodstuffs : Published by the League of Nations, Geneva 75 pages 2/6 oz $0.60

There was never a moment in history at which information about supplies and sources of raw materials and foodstuffs was more urgently and more generally sought than to-day.

The volume entitled "Raw Materials and Foodstuffs—Production by countries, 1935 and 1938", which has just been published by the League of nations, will meet a very real need. It brings together in a handy form information which previously could only be obtained by much research. Indeed, the volume contains the most complete statistics ever published on the production of raw materials and foodstuffs, by countries. The information relates to some 200 different commodities and nearly 140 countries or areas.

In utilising this book of reference, the reader would be well advised to study the preface which, in addition to explaining the scope of the tables, draws attention to certain of the statistical traps into which the unwary may be liable to fall.

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, in publishing this work of reference, has placed a valuable source of information at the disposal of journalists, scholars, statesmen and others who wish to obtain exact information for the study of problems connected with the production of and trade in raw materials and foodstuffs.

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Constitutional Government in Turkey

By Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, M. A., B. L.

Modern Turkey arose, like a phœnix, out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. There are no more the Sultans, neither their vizirs and 'rayas', nor their harems and eunuchs. Turkey, to-day, is an ethnic homogeneity, soberly national, republican, secular and socialistic. We shall not enter into the history of the rise and fall of the great Ottoman Empire from 1230 A. D. when Ertroghul with his mighty band from Central Asia swept across north-western Anatolia,—to 1918, when as a result of her defeat in the Great War, Turkey stood shorn of all her European and Asiatic imperial possessions, completely overwhelmed by Allied diplomacy and threatened with Greek and Italian ambitions in Asia Minor. Nor can we go here into the details of those four black and vile Agreements and Pacts (The Constantinople Agreement of March, 18, 1915 ; The Secret Pact of London, April 26, 1915 ; The Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 16, 1916 and the Maurienne Agreement of April 17, 1917) between Great Britain, France, Italy and Czarist Russia, which intended to transfer Constantinople and the Straits to Russia, "an equitable share of the Mediterranean region adjacent to the province of Adalia" to Italy, to set up independent Arab States, and territorial zones of influence under Great Britain and France and to establish Italian control on West Asia Minor including Smyrna (see—*Turkey* —by A. J. Toynbee and K. P. Kirkwood—p. 69-70). Here, we shall deal with the evolution of constitutional government in Turkey with such further incidental observations as are absolutely necessary for a proper background.

Constitutional government in Turkey may be said to have begun from 1839 when the Hatti-Sherif of Gulhane was proclaimed by Sultan Abdul Mejid, who further confirmed that Magna Charta of Imperial Turkey by proclaiming the fundamental statute of Hatti-Humayun (Feb. 1856). In 1876, the new Sultan Abdul Hamid II tried to placate the European powers by introducing reforms more owing to the Russian peril than to the zeal of a reformer ; and the humiliations quickly following the Treaty of Berlin (July, 1878), which was imposed upon Turkey, created many international obligations for her. Thus humilated abroad the Sultan became more autocratic at home and suspended the constitution in 1878. That explained the formation of the Young Turk Revolutionary Party organised by Turkish exiles under Ahmed Riza Bey. They raised the standard of revolt in Salonika in 1908, were joined by the Ottoman army and deposed the Sultan (April, 1909). The constitution of 1876, with liberal amendments, was revived in that year. But the Turco-Italian war of 1911-12, the two Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the Great War of 1914-18 produced serious disorganisations in Turkish politics and economics.

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Post-War Turkey

The Armistice of Mudros was signed on 30th October, 1918. Turkey lay vanquished and exhausted at the feet of the victors. Her Asiatic possessions were under the military occupation of the Entente Powers. The Arabs had revolted and gone over to the side of the Allies. The government at Constantinople passed from the hands of the Young Turks, to those of the Sultan and his 'Entente Liberale.' Proposals for the partition of Asia Minor between the Greeks and the Italians, and of Iraq and Syria between the French and the English, often leaked out. The Sultan in Constantinople was playing into the hands of the Allies, while in far off Anatolia a national movement was slowly rising its head. On May 15, 1919, the Greek Army landed at Smyrna to build up a Hellenic Empire. The Turks had before them three options ; (1) to demand protection from England : (2) to accept U.S.A as a mandatory power over them ; or (3) to allow each district to act in its own way. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the leader of the Nationalist movement determined to create a Turkish National State. He issued a manifesto to this effect in May, 1919, which being a very important document is given below :

"The integrity of the country, the independence of the nation, is in imminent jeopardy. The Government is unequal to the task for which it has assumed responsibility, the consequence being that our nation is not considered. The energy and the will of the nation alone can save its independence. It is absolutely necessary that a National Assembly shall be formed to protect the country from foreign influence and be independent of all control, so that it will be free to examine the position of the nation and asert its rights before the whole world. It has been decided to convene a National Congress forthwith at Sivas, which from every point of view is the safest place in Anatolia for that purpose. Every district in all the Vilayets must therefore immediately send three delegates each, who possess the confidence of the nation and they must start without delay so that they may arrive as soon as possible. To avoid any danger, this must be kept a national secret and the delegates must travel incognito through all the districts, if it should be considered necessary to do so" (See-Iqbal Ali Shah—*Kemal Maker of Modern Turkey*—P. 81.)

The first National Congress met at Erzerum on July 23, 1919 ; the second one at Sivas on September 4, 1919. Both of them deter-

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mined to carry on national struggle ignoring the government at Constantinople while the latter passed a resolution "to safeguard the Sultanate, the Supreme Caliphate and the integrity of the country against foreign pressure." The Cabinet of Ferid Pasha resigned on October 2, 1919, and Ali Riza Pasha formed a new one. In the newAssembly which met at Constantinople after the general elections, the Nationalists were in the majority. A document of great importance drawn up by Kemal, was placed before the Assembly and passed by it on January 28, 1920. This is the National Pact, having a short preamble and 6 Articls. It laid down the principles which represented the maximum of sacrifice which Turkey could undertake in consonance with her independence and stability. The first article, while recognising the principle of national self-determination for the Arabs, strongly demand the political unity of all Ottoman Muslims united in religion, race and aim.

The second and third Articles also accorded the same principle of self-determination to the three Sanjaks and Western Thrace. Article 4, demanded the protection of the security of Constantinople and agreed to open Bosphorous to the commerce and traffic of the world. By Article 5, Turkey agreed to assure the rights of non-Turkish minorities on the basis of reciprocation. Article 6, demanded complete freedom for national and economic development. "For this reason we are opposed to restriction inimical to our development in political, judicial, financial and other matters. The conditions of settlement of our proved debts shall likewise not be contrary to these principles" (For the English translation of the Text of the National Pact, See—A. J. Toynbee—*The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* (1922)—pp. 209—10).

The Assembly at Constantinople was soon dissolved under pressure from the Allies, who threatened in an Entente communique, to separate Constantinople from the Turks, if "executive unrest or sanguinary persecution should occur". The Nationalist Party became again an outlawed body, but the deputies who had escaped arrest met on April 23, 1920 at Angora and constituted what is known as the National Assembly of Turkey. In a letter to M. Millerand, Mustafa Kemal Pasha described the position thus : "The Ottoman people, considering that all its rights have been violated and its sovereignty encroached upon, has by order of its representatives, assembled at Angora and appointed an Executive Council chosen among the

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members of the National Assembly, which Council has taken in hand the government of the country". The members of the Assembly reiterated their loyalty to the Sultan, but they refused to recognise his government so long as "the Caliph Sultan and his Eternal City should remain under the dominion and occupation of foreigners". In the Assembly, Kemal described the constitutional system thus: "There is no power standing above the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. The Grand National Assembly combines in itself the executive and legislative power. A Council elected and authorised by the Assembly will conduct the affairs of the Government. The President of the Assembly is at the same time President of the Council....As soon as the Sultan Caliph is delivered from all pressure and coercion he will take his place within the frame of the legislative principles which will be determined by the Assembly" (See—Iqbal Ali Shah—*Ibid* p. 165.)

A Cabinet was elected which consisted of the following: Bekir Sami Bey (Commissary for Foreign Affairs), Jami Bey (Interior), Fevzi Pasha (National Defence), Dr. Adnan (Public Health), Dr. Riza Nour (Education), Yusuf Kemal Bey (Economics), Jellaluddin Arif Bey (Justice), Mustafa Fehmi Effendi (Sheri and Wakf), Hakki Behidge Bey (Finance), Ismail Fazil Pasha (Public Works), Colonel Ismet Pasha (Chief of the Staff). The Chief of the Staff was included for the first time in the Cabinet. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was President of the Assembly and so the head of the Government. Jellaluddin Arif Bey was the deputy president, discharging the Speaker's functions in the Assembly. (For further details—See Halide Edib—*The Turkish Ordeal*-pp. 144—148). The Law of High Treason was passed on April 29, 1220. The first offensive took place in June, 1920, when the Greeks authorised by France, England and Italy launched an attack against the Turks and captured Brusa, and Mudania. The Treaty of Sevres, which proposed a lamentable division of Turkey into various spheres of influence of the Great Powers, was signed by the delegates from the Sublime Porte of Constantinople on August 10, 1920. It maddened the Turks who determined to destroy the treaty with bullets and began to organise under Kemal. On January 20, 1921, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, passed and adopted the Law of the Fundamental Organisation—the first Organic Statute of Nationalist Turkey and the basis of all subsequent constitutional developments in that country.

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This Statute contained 23 articles. Art. 1 proclaimed the sovereignty of the people ; Art. 2 laid down that "the Executive power as well as the legislative power are concentrated in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey which alone represents the nation." Arts. 3, 4, and 5 dealt with the name of the Govt. composition of the Grand National Assembly and its tenure which was fixed at 2 years. In case it was impossible to hold new elections, the session of the Assembly might be prolonged for one year only. According to Art. 6 "The general session of the Grand National Assembly takes place on the first of November without Convocation." By Art. 7 all legislative powers like the making, modification and abrogation of laws, all executive powers as the concluson of conventions and treaties of peace, the call for the defence of the country etc., belonged to this Assembly. By Art. 8 the Assembly was to administer "its governmental departments through mandatory ministers elected by the Assembly." The ministers could be removed by it. Art. 9 says : "The President elected by the Grand National Assembly is the president of the Assembly during one electoral period. In this capacity, he is authorised to sign and ratify the decisions of the Council of mandatory ministers in the name of the Assembly." Arts. 10-14 dealt with local administration. The country was to be divided into several vilayets, each of which would have considerable "autonomous personality," purely local affairs being managed by an administrative Committee chosen by the Vilayet council from among its members. The chief executive in the Vilayet would be the President of this administrative Committee, but the Vali, representing the Grand National Assembly in the Vilayet, and being appointed by it, would adminimister the national affairs in the Vilayet. The remaining Articles dealt with the administrative system in the cazas and nahies and the grouping up of the vilayets into inspectorates which would be so many links between the Assembly Govt. and the vilayet administration. The Constituion, therefore, remained silent on the Sultanate though the Angora budgets provided for the Civil Lists of the Sultan Caliph. This Fundamental Law of 1921 did not make any provision for a Senate. The Cabinet was to be elected by the Assembly, and the ministers to be individually responsible to it. The Sultan was stripped of all political prerogatives. [For the text of this Fundamental Law—See Clair Price—*Rebirth of Turkey*, pp. 181-183 and *Current History*, Vol. XVII (1923)—pp. 458-459.]

The Government at Constantinople tried to open negotiations

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with Kemal. The Grand Vizir Tewfic Pasha requested the President of the Grand Assembly to unite with him in sending a joint delegation at the Peace Conference to be held in London. The President refused and a separate delegation under Bekir Sami Bey, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, was sent to the Peace Conference which lasted from Feb. 23, 1921 to March 12, 1921, but ended in smoke. On March 16, 1921, the Soviet—Turkish Treaty was signed in Moscow. The preamble to this treaty runs thus : "The two parties to this treaty hereby affirm that in their struggle for liberation, the peoples of the East are at one with the working population of Russia fighting for a new social order. They emphatically proclaim the right of the peoples of the East to liberty and independence and a form of government in accordance with their own demand." The Russian Government recognised the Nationalist government at Angora and the two outlawed states began to work in collaboration. With the fall of the Cohite Armies under General Wrangel in Southern Russia, Russian arms, ammunitions and gold (£8,000,000), began to reach the Turkish nationalists (See—*Fortnighlty Review*, November, 1922, p. 720). On 28 March, the Greek offensive began at Brusa, and for several months Western Asia Minor was filled with horror and bloodshed. On August 5, 1921, the Assembly which held "the rights of the generalissimo", passed a law investing Kemal Pasha with supreme military powers and "prerogative of the Great National Assembly", for a period of three months. Article 3 of this Law declared : "The Great National Assembly reserves rhe right to take away the authority and the office of the generalissimo before the term expires, if it thinks necessary" [For the text of this Law, See Halide Edib—*The Turkish Ordeal*—pp. 281-282]. Kemal united the office of the General Staff with those of the Ministry of National Defence and issued various orders for national consolidation. In September, 1921, the Greek army was routed in the battle of Sakariah. The Great National Assembly honoured the victor with the title of El Ghazi. The French made the Franklin-Bullion Pact with Turkey on October 20, 1921, by which they withdrew from Cilicia, rejected the Treaty of Sevres, and gave the Nationalist Government a *de facto* recognition [For the terms of the Treaty and the Correspondence between the French and English Governments—See Cmd. 1556 (1921) and Cmd. 1570 (1922)]. Great Britain protested. The Greeks and the Italians (from Adalia) gradually withdrew from the Turkish soil.

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By October 1922, the Greeks were expelled from Asia Minor, and on 11th of that month the armistice of Mudiana was signed.

Meanwhile, some constitutional practices were growing up in the Nationalist Government. The special powers of Kemal were renewed by the Assembly in February, 1922, but the motion for third renewal was defeated in May, 1922. The Council of Ministers did not, however, resign, and Kemal continued to be the head of the Army. On the next day, after the defeat of the proposal for renewal of term, the Assembly passed a bill and gave Kemal the powers he sought though by another bill it laid down that the Ministers and the President of the Council were to be directly elected by the Assembly, by secret ballot. A secret ballot was actually held as a result of which Mustafa Kemal Pasha was removed from the office of the President of the Council and Rauf Bey was elected in his place. Kemal continued to be the President of the National Assembly and Rauf Bey held his post from July 1922 to August 1923. On October 28, the Powers invited to the Peace Conference at Lausanne, the representatives of both the National Government and the Sublime Porte. This led to the abolition of the Sultanate, for the Sultan had "taken sides with the enemies of the Nationalist Government" during the last four years, and "provoked numerous ills for the country." On November 1, 1922, the Assembly passed a resolution, which contained *inter alia* the following : "Whereas the Turkish people, in the Law of Fundamental Organisation, has resolved that its rights of sovereignty and rulership are incorporated in and actually exercised by the Judicial person of the Great Turkish National Assembly, which is the true representative, and this so completely that these rights cannot be abandoned, partitioned or transferred :.....Accordingly the Turkish people considers the form of Government in Constantinople, which is based upon the sovereignty of an individual, as being obsolete from 16th March, 1920, onwards for ever." The resolution separated the Sultanate from the Caliphate and made the latter elective by the Assembly, though the choice would be confined within the members of the House of Osman. [For the text of this resolution —See Toynbee and Kirkwood—*Turkey* (1926)—P. 150]. On November 4, 1922, Rafet Pasha carried out a *Coup d'Etat* in Constantinople, and on the following morning the Cabinet of Ahmed Tewfik Pasha, the last of the Ottoman Grand Vizirs, resigned. Thus ended the Government at Constantinople. On Nov. 17, the

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Sultan Mahmed Vahi-uddin fled on board H. M. S. 'Malaya' at Constantinople and left Turkey for ever. Next day, the Assembly elected Abdul Mejid Effendi as the Caliph of Islam. There were protests throughout Turkey against this radical measure and the "members of the Committee of Union and Progress who could not forgive the Ghazi for stealing their thunder began to murmur and to combine against him, fearing his severity and foreseeing his dictatorship" (*The Times*, Nov. 11, 1938). On Nov. 21, 1922. The Lausanne Conference began its sitting.

The Grand National Assembly used to meet at this time at 1·30 o'clock afternoon, everyday except Friday. In November, 1922, a proposal to invest the Cabinet with the right to dissolve the Assembly was defeated by Kemal, who also began to exercise the right of receiving foreign diplomatic representatives.

The life of the Assembly was coming to an end on April 23, 1923 and with a view to controlling the general elections and maintain peace, the Treason Act was passed. Its provisions were very general. It declared that "all who willingly by act or writing work against the decision of November 1, 1922, deciding on the abolition of the Sultanate and the incorporation in the personality of the National Assembly of the rights of sovereignty or against the legality of the National Assembly are considered traitors to the Fatherland". This enactment stiffled all opposition against the Popular Party of Kemal. As a result of the general election, the new Assembly of 1923 included a high proportion of educated men—56 officers, 17 Pashas, 21 Valis, 25 men of religion, 15 doctors, 9 financiers, 10 jurists, 14 businessmen, 46 notables, 4 poets, 14 journalists, 3 ambassadors, and a number of men of varying callings (see *Fortnightly Review*, Nov. 1923—p. 743). The Assembly discussed many constitutional questions. Fethi Bey, the President of the Council, read out a government programme to the Assembly stressing financial reform, invitation of foreign specialists to reorganise the various departments, national education, physical culture, education of girls, development of roads, bridges, ports, etc. The Ministers remained mandatories of the Assembly which retained in itslef all executive and legislative sovereignty. Thus, Ismet Pasha went to Lausanne as the plenipotentiary of the Government of the National Assembly. Again, when the Persian Ambassador was accredited to Turkey, his credentials were pronounced to be not in order as they referred to "Ottoman Empire", etc. The Prime Minister was definitely

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subordinte to the President of the Republic i.e., Ghazi Kemal Pasha who was the guiding star of the new state, the leader of the Popular Party and yet the Chief Executive of the Government of the National Assembly.

After several months of protracted negotiations, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed on July 24. 1923. It was accompanied by no less than 11 conventions, declarations, etc, of which five, dealing with the Straits, the Thracian frontier, conditions of residence and business and jurisdiction in Turkey, conditions of commercial operation in Turkey, and the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations, are very important. The treaty solved the problems of boundaries, minorities, capitulations, nationality and distribution of Ottoman Public Debt. Turkey got the whole of Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople, as far west as the Maritsa ; Constantinople, the Straits ; in the South and South-east, her territory bordered on Syria and Iraq, excepting Mosul. She was also given complete sovereignty over Kurds. As regards capitulations the Treaty said : "The High Contracting parties agree to abrogate the capitulations relating to the regime of foreigners in Turkey both as regards the conditions of entry and residence and as regards fiscal and judicial questions (Art. 26). The Articles relating to the rights of the non-Moslem minorities in Turkey were taken by her as fundamental laws, Art. 38 Says : "Tuskish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems. All the inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of religion shall be equal before the law". Arts. 37, 38 and 40, guaranteed to all minorities, freedom of religion, protection of life, liberty and property, the free use of non-Turkish languages, and family law and customs. Art. 44 placed these rights under the guarantee of the League of Nations. These rights "shall not be modified without the assent of the majority of the Council of the League of Nations. Turkey agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these obligations and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances Turkey further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or of fact arising out of these articles between the Turkish Government and any one of the other Signatory Powers or any other Power, a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an inter-

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national character under Art. XIV of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Turkish Government, hereby consents that such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demand, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Art. XIII of the Covenant." I have reproduced this article at length, only with the belief that it may be of some help to our Indian political leaders who are tired of solving the Hindu-Moslem problem (For the proceedings in the Lausanne Conference—See Cmd. 1814 Vol. XXVI of 1923. For the Treaty itself, see Cmd. 1929, Treaty Series No. 16 (1923)], By an agreement for the exchange af populations, 100,000 Greeks remaining in Turkey were deported to Greece and about 400,000 Turks remaining in Macedonia and Thrace were deported by Greece to Turkey, in 1924. [See E. M. Earle—*The Treak of Near Eastern Minorities in Asia*, Jan. 1925, p. 49-70]. By the straits convention, Turkey agreed not to fortify the Straits, i.e. the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorous. They were to be kept open in times of war or peace. An International Commission was set up at Constantinople to see that the terms of the treaty were observed.

Within the course of two and a half years, the programme and the ideal of the National Pact, thus, became realised. On 29th October 1923 Turkey was declared a Rpublic. Kemal Pasha was the first President of the Republic and Ismet Pasha the first Prime Minister. Towards the end of the year it was found that the new Caliph was not faithfully following the conditions of his appointment. He wanted "to wear a cloak and turban as worn by Mohammed the Conqueror at the Selamlik." In January the Caliph wanted to send his Grand Chamberlain to Angora, in the manner of the Pope, to discuss his powers and position. It was also rumoured that he was selling the royal treasures. Kemal declared in the Assembly : "Dignity of the Caliphate can have no other importance for us than that of an historical memory. The demands of the Caliph that the dignitaries of the Turkish Republic should enter into negotiations with him constitute a flagrant violation of the independence of the Republic" [Iqbal Ali Shah—*Ibid*—P. 252]. In the Spring of 1924 an appeal for the strengthening of the Caliphate signed by H. H. the Aga Khan and the Right. Hon. Seyed Amir Ali was published in three Constantinople Papers. Kemal regarded this as a high-handed interferance in Turkish internal affairs and an

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attempt to undermine the authority of the Republic. On March 31, 1924, a decree of the National Assembly abolished the Caliphate forever from Turkey and sent Abdul Mejid Effendi into exile. [for further details—see Ameer Ali—Caliphate, in *Contemporary Review*, June, 1915 : and Toynbee and Kirkwood-*Turkey*, P. 163-182] All mention of the Caliph was omitted from the State prayers on Friday and instead the favour of God was implored for the nation and the Republican Government The Sheriat or Holy Law was abolished ; religious courts were subordinated to the Ministry of Justice ; education was secularised ; the Ministry of pious foundations (wakf) was suppressed ; the Sheikh-ul-Islam was dropped from the Cabinet—and all these, almost in a week, drove out religion from politics. On April 20, 1924, the new Constitution of the Republic of Turkey was voted, published and put into force. We shall deal with this constitution in detail, but before that, let us finish this historical survey. Towards the end of the year 1924, Ismet Pasha retired due to ill health and Fethi Bey became the Prime Minister. An oppositon party to the Ghazi was formed under Rauf Bey, Kiazim Kara Bekir, Refet, Ali Fand Pasha, and Adnan Bey. The party took the name of the Republican Progressive Party. Amongst its members there were "Three officers whose prestige with the army stood very high and thus a bid was made for the all-important support of the Army" (Julian Palmer—*Turkish Politics* : Persons and Parties in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, Nov. 1930, pp. 594). The Kurdistan revolt broke out early in 1925. Fethi Bey having failed to crush the revolt speedily, resigned and Ismet Pasha returned to office. The Republican Progressive Party was suppressed as some reactionary and seditious elements were developing within it. The Press was completely brought under control. In 1926 Tribunals of Independence were set up for the summary trial of persons involved in the plot against the life of the Ghazi, and many Unionists like Shukri Bey, Ismail Iambulat Bey, Karakamal Bey, etc., were executed. The consolidation of the state was complete ; the Kurds were subjugated ; and the Ghazi was at the highest of his power in 1927. The General Elections were held in this year. The Ghazi himself approved the names of the candidates from the list of members of his Republican Party, submitted to him by his intimate advisers. All his candidates were elected. Only one vote was cast in the whole country for an opposition candidate, and that was by the Ghazi himself. Mustafa Kemal, now longing for

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relaxation of control and growth of a parliamentary opposition, helped Fethi Bey, who had returned in 1928 from his post of Ambassador in Paris, to form an opposition, known as the Liberal Republican Party, and himself retired more and more from active politics though always keeping an eye over it. A special session of the Assembly was held to pass temporary measures dealing with economic crisis. The opposition headed by Fethi Bey cast 13 votes against the Government of Ismet Pasha. But this parliamentary opposition could not survive long, and Turkey has ever since been governed by one single political Party. Criticising the failure of parliamentary opposition, one writer says: "Her (Turkey's) libertarian institutions were never intended as instruments of the expressionist state, but as badges of her modernity as a nation-state qua nation-state. (See Hawgood J. A.—*Modern Constitutions* 1787, p. 34J). This is only a half-truth, for real freedom does not simply consist in the right to express diverse views, but also in the successful carrying out of projects which raise the political, economic, social and moral life of a community. The more backward and superstitious a country, and the greater the external danger, the more the concentration of power in the hands of a few.

Amongst the most important reforms carried out in Turkey the following should be noted: In 1926 the monasteries of the dervishes were closed. Western Laws were adopted. Poles law was abolished, equitable divorce laws were introduced. Turkish family law was superseded by Swiss Law. On April 10, 1928, Acts 2, 16, 26 and S8 of the Organic Statute were replaced in such a way that Turkey became a secular state. Islam ceased to be the state religion. Arabian and Persian influences were checked. In 1929 Arabic and Persian language-courses were replaced by the teaching of modern European languages. The Turkish Linguistic Council established at Ankara tried to replace Arabic and Persian words by Turkish ones. The Koran was recited, for the first time, in Turkish translation on January 22, 1932. The Latin characters were adopted as early as 1928. Women were given complete freedom and admitted everywhere as officials and teachers. The national culture of Turkey was not ignored. The Turk Ojagni of 1912 came to be amalgamated with the Republican People's Party in 1931, and in 1932 it transformed itself into "The House of the People", which is to be found in each town of Turkey—advocating both Europeanisation and nationalisation of Turkish culture. All these houses, in which alcoholic drinks and

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card games are prohibited, include departments for language and literature, fine arts, theatre, sport, bureaus dealing with libraries, museums and exhibitions. As Hans Kohn says : "the influence of educational centres of this sort is apt to be much greater than legislative measures." (Ten years of the Turkish Republic in *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1933—p. 149). The Government completely re-organised the economic life of the country, liberating it from the domination of foreign Capitalism, and "in her endeavours to nationalise her economic life Turkey has not hesitated to create difficulties for foreigners and foreign corporations." (For a survey of the reforms in Law, Language, Religion etc., see Luke—*The Making of Modern Turkey*, (1936—pp. 187-234). By the Municipal Law of 1930, Turkish women were given the right to elect and be elected municipal councillors. In the General Elections of 1931, the Kemalist Party retained all the seats. Sethe Bey's Opposition Party was deliberately suppressed. Kemal continued to be the President of the Republic, and Ismet Pasha the Premier. There were two religious risings, one at Menemen, near Smyrna in 1931, the other at Brusa in 1933. Both were ruthlessly suppressed "hanging several re-actionaries and condemning others to long terms of imprisonment." (See Ten Years of Kemalism—by J. Walter Collins, in *Contemporary Review*, August, 1933, p. 183). On July 18, 1932, Turkey became a member of the League of Nations. The next month, the Government decided to appoint women in the police. On December 3, 1934 a law was passed by which "ecclesiastics, whatever their religion or sect are forbidden to wear religious dress except in places of worship and at religious ceremonies."

On December 5, 1934, the right to elect and be elected a Deputy in the Assembly was given to women by an amendment of Articles 10 and 11 of the Organic Statute. [See British State Papers, Vol 137 (1934), p. 685]. In the General Election of 1935, 399 deputies were returned, of whom 383 belonged to the Kemalist Party, 17 were women, while 16 seats, that were ceded to the minority communities in Turkey, like the Greeks, Jews, Armenians, etc., voluntarily by the Kemalist Party, were filled by Independents. On March, 1, 1935, the Fifth Grand National Assembly was opened by Kemal Ataturk, who was again elected the President of the Republic. The retiring Cabinet came back with this alteration that General Kazim Ozalp who was for ten years President of the Assembly was

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appointed Minister of National Defence in place of M. Zekai Atayeim, while M. Abdul Hali Renka succeeded the General as the President of the Assembly.* On September 27, 1937 the premier, Gen. Ismet Inonu resigned due to some difference of opinion with the President of the Republic. M. Djelal Beyer, formerly Minister of National Economy became the new Prime Minister on October 13, 1937 and in his speech to the Kamutay (Turkish Grand National Assembly) on November 9, developed the principle of Etatism, though individual enterprise was also to be encouraged. On November 10, 1938 Kemal died at the age of 57. Next day, the Assembly unanimously elected Gen. Ismet Inonu as the President of the Republic. The ministry of Djelal Beyer resigned, but on November 12 was reconstituted with himself as Prime Minister, and all other former ministers except those of Foreign Affairs, Justice and Interior. On January 25, 1939 this ministry resigned and the Assembly voted its own dissolution. The new Kamutay was elected on March 27, 1939 "by ballot of the Executive of the Republican People's Party the only political organisation permitted in the country." There were 424 members including 14 women deputies, as distinguished from 400 members in the previous Assembly. The Sandjak of Alexandretta, which wes ceded to Turkey by France on June 20, 1939 (on condition that Turkey would recognise the inviolable character of the newly drawn Syrian Frontier) became a Turkish constituency from wnich a member sat in the Kamutay. The new Kamutay elected Gen. Ismet Inonu as President of the Republic on April 3, 1939. The Cabinet of Dr. Refik Saydam, who had taken over the ministry after the resignation of Djelal Beyer, handed over its formal resignation, but was requested by the President of the Republic to continue in office until the formation of a new government. Saydam Cabinet now contains the following ministers : The Premier, the Ministers of National Defence, Justice, Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Education, Public Works, National Economy,

* On July 20, 1936, the Dardanelles Conference completed its sittings and the Montreux Convention was signed. Turkey regained her sovereignty over the Straits. She was given the right to close the Straits to warships in times of war when she herself is a belligerent or when she is menaced. But in time of peace or even in war, when she is not a party, the Straits are to be kept open to merchant vessels and to warships, when the latter does not exceed 30,000 tonage. On February 5, 1937, Arts. 1 74 and 75 were amended in such a way that the principles of nationalism, etatism and secularism became fortified.

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Agriculture, Public Health, Customs and Monopolies i.e., the Prime Minister and 11 other ministers.

The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey.

The principles of the Republican Constitution can be traced back to the resolution of the Congress at Erzerum and Sivas and the National Pact. The Law of Fundamental Organisation of Jan. 20, 1921, served as the basic written constitution during the hectic days of the civil war, the war with the Greeks, the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate. Then, on April 20, 1924, came the great Law of the Constitution; it repealed former organic laws and forms the foundation of the Republic at the present date. This constitution was amended on April 10, 1928 (Arts. 2, 16, 26 and 38—see British and Foreign State Papers—Vol. 133, Part II. (1930), p. 972], on December 12, 1931 [Art. 95—See Ibid—Vol. 135, p. 944]; on December, 5, 1934 [Arts. 10 and 11—See Ibid—Vol. 137 (1934), p. 685]; and lastly, on February 5, 1937 [Art. 1, 74 and 75—See Keesing, *Contemporary Archives*, pp. 2447—48]. The constitution contains altogether 105 articles divided into six sections. The Turkish State is a republic based on the principles of nationalism, democracy, evolutionism, laicism (separation of state and religion) and "etatism" i.e. State ownership or control of the principal means of communication, industries, mines and public utility services (Art, 1). The official language is Turkish and sovereignty, though it belongs to the nation without restriction, is exercised by the Grand National Assembly which is "the sole lawful representative of the nation" and in which all legislative and executive powers are vested and centered (Arts. 2—5).

Executive.

The Assembly exercises the executive power through the intermediary of the President of the Republic, who is elected by it from among its members for a period equivalent to that of the parliamentary term (4 years). The president exercises his functions until the election of a new president. He is eligible for re-election. He is the head of the state. He may preside over the Council of Commissioners in case of necessity. But during his term of office he "may not take part in the discussions or in the deliberations of the Assembly and may not vote." In case of vacancy of the office, due to illness, death or resignation, etc., of the President of the Republic, the President of the

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Assembly (like the Speaker) takes up his duties until the new President of the Republic has been elected by the Assembly. The power of the President is strictly limited to one of suspensive veto for a period of ten days only, over laws which do not concern the constitution or the budget, but if a law is returned to the President after reconsideration by the Assembly, then he must promulgate it. The President, after his election shall take an oath of loyalty to the Republic to defend and increase her integrity and dignity and to observe the principles of the sovereignty of the nation. He receives and designates diplomatic representatives ; he exercises the right of pardon. He has, by order of the Assembly, the supreme command of the army. He is responsible to the Assembly, only in case of high treason. Art. 39 says "All decrees promulgated by the President of the Republic shall be signed by the President of the Council and by the Commissioner within whose jurisdiction the measure lies." Therefore, the ministers are responsible to the Assembly for all measures and decrees. But the Prime Minister is designated by the President of the Republic from among the deputies, and when, there is one party and no other in the State, and that also controlled by the President, the latter becomes, as he has in Turkey, almost a dictator. The other ministers, are chosen by the Premier, but subject to the approval of the President By Art. 44, the new Government must present its programme to the Assembly within a week and request a vote of confidence. The ministers are responsible to the Assembly both jointly and individually. Apart from the Cabinet, there is a Council of State (Art. 51—52) constituted of experienced economists, jurists, and specialists and "those who have held important posts", all chosen by the Assembly. The Council will have advisory power and the ministers are empowered to issue administrative regulations, not contrary to law, on the advice of the Council of State.

The Legislature.

The Legislature, which is the real sovereign body in Turkey, is made up of one single house containing 424 members, elected by every male and female Turk over 22 years of age. The deputies must be over the age of thirty, know the Turkish language and must not suffer the usual legal, physical and mental disqualifications. The life of the Assembly is fixed at four years, though in case of an "impossibility to proceed to legislative elections," the period may be prolonged by one year. The Assembly must meet every year on the 1st of November

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"without the necessity of convocation" and the period of recess shall not be more than six months. "Initiation of legislation rests with the members of the Assembly and the Cabinet" (Art 15). The deputies must swear on their honour their loyalty to the Republic. They enjoy immunities from arrest or execution of judgment pronounced against them during their legislative term, in all cases excepting flagrant crimes, when they may be surrendered by vote of the Assembly. Provisions are made for the special convocation of the Assembly, and for the free publication of its debates. The Assembly has "the right of interpellation and of conducting investigations and parliamentary enquiries." The amended article 26 is very interesting, it is as follows: "The Grand National Assembly itself performs the following duties: the enactment, modification, interpretation and abrogation of laws; the conclusion of agreement and peace treaties with states; the declaration of war; the examination and approval of laws relating to the general budget and the final state accounts; the coining of money; the approval and annulment of monopolies and contracts or concessions; the proclamation of general and special amnesties; the reduction and modification of penalties; the postponement of legal enquiries and punishments; and the sanctioning of death sentences which have been pronounced by the courts and have become final." It is thus found that the Turkish Assembly exercises many functions which are exercised in the democracies of the West by the Executive, and even the Judiciary (e.g. Art. 52). The Assembly elects at the beginning of November, each year, its president and three vice-presidents, for the duration of one year. It has the power of dissolving itself before the expiration of its term, by an absolute majority vote, while it can impeach one of its members by two-thirds majority. The Budget must be annually submitted before it at least three months before the commencement of the fiscal year. Expenditure of public funds must be in accordance with the budget or "authorised special law" (Art. 96). A special Court of Accounts is established to audit, verify and control the expenditures and revenue of the state on behalf of the Assembly, and to submit a report thereto, to the Assembly within six months after the Finance Minister shall have presented to the Assembly his statement of final accounting. The articles of the constitution, excepting Art 1, can be modified only when the proposal to amend has been signed by one-third and thereafter passed by "two-thirds of the total number of deputies."

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The Judiciary

The Judicial power is exercised on the name of the Assembly by independent tribunals constituted in accordance with the law. (Art. 8.). Judges are recalled only in conformity with law. Court trials are public, except in those cases where a secret trial is specified by the code of procedure. Judges may not hold any other office. The judicial system has been formed on the French model. As the base there are the *Judges de paix*, or local courts with limited but summary penal and civil jurisdiction. There are the *Tribunaux de base* each with a president and two assistant judges with wider powers concerning marriage, divorce, probate and civil rights. There are also several Assize Courts under a president and four judges for serious criminal cases. The Court of Cassation (Appeals) sits at Ankara. Members of the Cabinet, the Council of state, the Court of Cassation, and the Attorney General are to be tried "in all questions pertaining to the performance of their duties", by the High Court, which is "composed of twenty-one members, eleven of whom are chosen from among the members of the Court of Cassation and ten from among the members of the Council of State" by secret ballot, by the plenary assemblies of each of these bodies. The High Court has a President and a Vice-President, elected by the same procedure. The Bench is constituted by fourteen members and the President. The decision which is reached by the majority, is not subject to appeal or annulment. The Grand National Assembly may sit when necessary as the High Court of Turkey. Under the terms of the Lausanne Treaty, Turkey undertook to reform her judiciary and to take immediately in service, for such period as it may consider necessary, but not less than 5 years, European legal Counsillors, for that purpose [See Cmd. 1814. (1923), P 852]. As a result, we find in Turkey a a series of legislations and codes which have brought her judicial system on a par with that of any Western country. There is a civil code based chiefly on the Swiss model ; a Code of obligations similarly formed : a Commercial Code based on German and Italian Codes ; a Maritime Code based on the German code ; a Penal Code based chiefly on the Italian code ; a Code of Criminal Instructions based on the German model ; and a Code of Civil Procedure based on that of the canton of Neufchatel. The Sheri Courts were abolished as early as 1924. Justice, to-day, in Turkey is cheap, impartial and free from religious bias.

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Local Government

Local Government in Turkey, though autonomous within its proper jurisdiction, is strictly under the control of the National Assembly through the vali, in all national affairs. There are now 62 vilayets 8 in European Turkey and 54 in the Asiatic. The vali is appointed by the Minister of the Interior, has an executive Council to assist him, and is the president of the Vilayet Assembly which "meets once a year for a minimum of 15 days and a maximum of 40 days." The delegates to this Assembly are elected by kazas, into which a vilayet is divided, in proportion to their populational strength Each *kaza* has a Kaimakan at the head, who is also appointed by the Minister of the Interior. The kaza has also a District Assembly. It is also subdivided into *nahiyes* (townships) with the *mudir* at the head of each, this officer being appointed by the District Assembly The nahiyes are subdivided into *kassabas* and villages, the ultimate units.

Pubic Law of the Turks

Arts. 68—88 deal with the fundamental rights of the Turks. Equality before law, inviolability of person, and property, freedom of speech, press, conscience, religion, association, education, correspondence etc, are guaranteed, subject to law. Right to make complaints or address petitions either to the competent authority or to the Assembly is also given to a Turk. "The reply to an individual complaint must be given in writing to the person concerned"(Art. 82). The Ministry is empowered to decree martial law in case of great public danger only for the duration of one month, after which it is to be submitted to the Assembly who can prolong or diminish the the period (Art. 86). Primary education is obligatory for all Turks and is gratuitous in the government schools. The word Turk is not at all a religious or racial term. It is political, and means any Citizen of Turkey.

Political Party

There is only one political party in Turkey, the people's party later called, the Republican People's Party, founded by Kemal as early as 1921. Article 1 of the statute of the party adopted in 1923 reads as follows : "The goal of the party's government by the people and for the people, together with the elevation of Turkey to the status of a modern state." The other articles demand the complete separation of

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religion from politics ; social organisation on the basis of modern civilization and the empirical and positive sciences ; equal rights for all citizens, including women. The party has a President who appoints the Vice-President and the General Secretary. These three together form the Presidential Council which designates the candidates for the parliamentary elections. Twelve party-inspectors are nominated by this Council to look after the organisation of the party throughout the state. The decisions of the Council are binding on all members of the party. Kemal was the life-president. As all the members of the Assembly are nominated by the Party's Council, the President of the party who is also the President of the Republic naturally controls the Grand National Assembly (See *Foreign Affairs.*, Oct., 1933—p. 142—144). After Kemal's death Gen. Ismet Inonu was elected President of the party for life on December 27, 1938. He is also the President of the Republic. The principles of the party were altered and made more radical in 1938. They are six in number, viz, (1) Republicanism ; (2) Popularism, i. e. popular sovereignty, but no class war ; (3) Etatism, including state ownership of important means of production, communication etc, and state control of private enterprise, (4) Nationalism ; (5) Secularism—separation of religion from politics and (6) Revolutionism, meaning that the party does not believe in political evolutionism or slow gradual progress, but preserves a dynamic attitude to all problems "in conformity with the principles born of the Revolution."

The constitution of Turkey is a 'sui generis,' a type by itself, quite different from that of the Parliamentary government of Great Britain, or the Presidential government of U. S. A or France. It resembles more closely the governments of Germany, Italy and Soviet Russia in spirit than in the letters, of the constitution of the last two. The President of Turkey is almost a dictator, but always with the confidence of the Kamutay. The government of Turkey strangely resembles the provisional government of the Third French Republic. But if several political parties originate and prove strong in Turkey, (which is impossible in near future), there can be no doubt that the Turkish Government will be a replica of the Third Republic. The powers of the Turkish President are great not by virtue of the constitution but by virtue of the fact that he is the President of the only political party in the country. Still, he cannot dissolve the Kamutay, while the latter exercises such distinctly

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executive powers as the declaration of war, coining of money, the reduction of penalties, the proclamation of amnesties, the right of dissolution of itself etc. But the constitution of Turkey is different from those of other countries in several very important points. There is no class-war or expropriation of private property as in Soviet Russia; there is no unrestricted private ownership (Art. 74) as in England or U. S. A. ; there is no state religion as in Italy ; there is no racialism as in Germany ; there is no Senate as in France ; there are no predominant Islamic traditions as in Persia. The constitution of Turkey, as I have said, is a 'sui generis'. It is distinctly the child of the revolutions (1918—1923), begotten by a leader, whose breadth of outlook and depth of visions, whose cosmopolitanism and love for 'equality, fraternity and liberty', mingled with an acute sense of realism stand unsurpassed in the twentieth century. Turkey, to-day, has well defined frontiers, a homogeneous and contented people of 16,000,000 souls ; an excellent system of primary, secondary and higher education (the total number of students in 1936 were 544,621 males and 265,578 females). She enjoys the blessings of financial stability ; in 1938—39, her revenue was L. T. 250,049,000 and expenditure, L. T. 249,954,200. By the law of June 21, 1927, military service is compulsory. It begins at 20, the liability to serve lasting for 26 years. The period of service in the infantry is 18 months ; in cavalry, artillary and air, it is 2 years ; while in navy, 3 years. The State owns a number of monopolies, e.g. tobacco, alcohol, sugar, matches, explosives, cartridges and salt. In foreign relations, she has no enemy. The quarrel with Greece ended with the visit of M. Venezelos in 1930. The Balkan Pact of Feb. 9, 1934 has guaranteed the inviolability of her frontiers together with those of Greece, Rumania and Yugo Slavia. The pact of Saadabad with Iran, Iraq and Afghanisthan in 1937, has stabilized the condition in Western Asia. And all these momentous achievements have been done in the course of fourteen years by the energy, will and resourcefulness of a man who was called by Lord Balfour "a bandit who stood for every thing that was opposed to the League of Nations." Turkey today is the most valuable ally of Great Britain and the bulwark against the Russo-German invasion of Western Asia.

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Japanese International Cultural Society Sponsors Essay Competition

To commemorate the 26th centennial of the founding of the Japanese Empire by the Emperor Jimmu, the Society for International Cultural Relations, Tokyo, will sponsor a worldwide essay contest, the largest of its kind ever undertaken by the Japanese, it was officially announced by Mr. Setsuichi Aoki, general secretary of the Society. Awards will include five first prize and ten second prize travel scholarships to Japan.

Understanding Sought

This international essay contest has been projected as a means of furthering the understanding of Japanese civilization among the nations of the world and of contributing to closer bonds of intimacy and mutual helpfulness between Eastern and Western civilizations.

Contestants may choose any of the following *subjects* :—

1. The Characteristics of Japanese Culture.
2. The Cultural Intercourse between Japan and other countries (Choice of one or more countries).
3. The Position of Japanese Culture in the World.

The *rules* for the contest are :

1. The contestant must be a registered national of a foreign country.
2. Each contestant is limited to one essay.
3. The contestant may write in any language. However, essays written in languages other than Chinese, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Japanese must be accompanied by a translation in any of the foregoing languages preferably Japanese. Contestants resident in Japan are requested to submit a Japanese translation.
4. Each essay must not be more than 8,000 words in length. If written originally in Japanese the length is limited to 12,000 characters including "kana".
5. Manuscripts must be mailed by September 30, 1940 at the latest. Those manuscripts not received by November 30, 1940 will not be accepted.

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6. The winners will be announced on April 29, 1941, on Tenchosetsu, the birthday of the Emperor.

7. All submitted manuscripts will not be returned.

8. The sponsoring society will have all rights to the winning essays.

9, The contestant's name must not appear on the manuscript. Name, address, curriculum vitae and photograph of the contestant must be attached to the manuscript and sent together by registered mail.

10. Manuscripts must be typewritten. (Chinese and Japanese manuscripts excepted).

11. Bibliographical references must be mentioned, if any.

Zones Fixed

The world has been divided into five zones and the contestant, regardless of nationality, will compete in the zone of his or her residence. (e.g. An American resident in China will compete in the Asia zone). There will be one first prize, two second prizes and several third prizes awarded in each zone.

The contest zones are as follows :

(a) Asia (From Turkey east not including Japan).
(b) Europe, Africa, Australia and New Zealand.
(c) Latin America.
(d) North America and the Hawaiian Islands.
(e) The Japanese Empire.

Each prizewinner will be notified and their names publicly announced. Prizewinners must notify the contest committee in which form they would prefer the award as listed below. Awards will be void unless notification is received within six months after the announcement.

First prize winners will be awarded a travel scholarship of three months in Japan. They will be given a first class round-trip steamer passage from a port in or nearest the country of residence to a port in Japan (the ship and route to be stipulated by the contest committee) and Y3,000 for a stay of three months in Japan. The prizewinner in the Japan zone is excepted from the steamer passage. The above award will become void unless the winner arrives in Japan within one year after the winners are announced. The winner who is unable to

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make the trip to Japan will be awarded books published in Japan and or other articles to the total value of Y3,000, after full consideration of the wishes of the recipient.

Winners to be invited here

Second prizewinners will be awarded a travel scholarship of one month in Japan. They will be given a first class round-trip steamer passage from a port in or nearest the country of residence to a port in Japan (the ship and route to be stipulated by the contest committee) and Y1,000 for a stay of one month in Japan. Prizewinners in the Japan zone are excepted from the steamer passage. These second prize awards will become void unless the winner arrives in Japan within one year after the winners are announced. The second prize winners who are unable to make the trip to Japan will be awarded books published in Japan and or other articles to the total value of Y1,000, after full consideration of the wishes of the recipient.

Third prizewinners will be awarded books published in Japan to the value of Y500.

A certificate and medal will also be presented to each of the prizewinners. The winners of the first and second prizes will be awarded their scholarships (expenses while in Japan) in Japan. Prizewinners in the Japan zone will receive their scholarship award shortly after the announcement of the winners.

Essays to be published

The prize winning essays and their Japanese translations will be published by the Society for International Cultural Relations.

A jury, approximately 10 members, will be appointed soon by the contest committee from among Japanese scholars prominent in various academic fields.

The members of the contest committee include : Mr. Matsuzo Nagai, chairman of the board of directors of the Society for International Cultural Relations and Mr. Takanobu Mitani, director of the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Office.

All communications to be addressed to Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (26th Centennial International Essay Contest) Marunouchi, Tokyo, Japan.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

We print below the last pathetic appeal from the brave people of Finland whom we salute as martyrs to the cause of human liberty :

To the Athletes and Sportsmen of the World

In 1938 the International Olympic Committee entrusted Finland with organizing the XIIth Olympic Games in Helsinki, Capital of the Finnish Republic. Finland and her sportsmen accepted this commission with gratitude and, thanks to the generous sacrifices of the entire nation the preparations had progressed so far by the Autumn of 1939 that the successful realization of the Games seemed ensured. In a cheerful and confident spirit we looked forward to the arrival of the world's athletes and sportsmen as our guests.

When the European war broke out last autumn, Finland decided to continue her preparations for the Olympic Games. We thought that even in time of war it was important to keep alive the Olympic idea, an idea that would unite all the nations of the world in a spirit of peace and brotherhood. We felt that it was our duty to arrange the Games at the very time when their significance, as a symbol of goodwill among the nations, was greater than ever. Shortly after having been entrusted with the Games we defined their aim to be a feast which would awaken, in all individuals and nations, a desire for mutual understanding and hold before the eyes of a world, infected with discord and suspicion, the ideal of peace.

But when less than a year remained before the Games, Bolshevik Russia attacked our peaceful people, thereby violating her Non-aggression Pact with Finland. She disclosed her intentions by making air raids on the unfortified Olympic City killing women and children with bombs and machine guns. Russia's aim is to destroy Finland's independence through bloodshed and fire.

The people of Finland have taken up arms as one man. They have abandoned their peacetime occupations and are now using all their power to defend their right to their native land. The nation fights for its very existence.

At this moment Finland is not sending out information about the Games. Nevertheless the Organising Committee of the XIIth Olympic

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Games has met in order to make this appeal to the athletes and sportsmen of the world. We beseech you, our fellow athletes and sportsmen in all parts of the world, to think of Finland at this moment —Finland, the country, which was entrusted with the XIIth Olympic Games, the country, which expected to greet the flower of the world's youth as her guests at this great festival of peace, the country which has been attacked without the slightest justification by a Great Power pursuing its bolshevist policy.

And when you are thinking of Finland may you understand that, however encouraging the sympathy shown us by the world has been, it is not sufficient for a nation struggling against an enemy fifty times greater in size and power.

It's up to you, also Atheltes and Sportsmen of the world, to decide whether this appeal from the Organizing Committee of the XII Olympic Games shall be a last message or not.

Cultural groups of Bihar.

Recent session of the Indian National Congress at Ramgarh turned the attention of the public to the admirable capacity of our Biharee friends for political organization. Few, however, care to explore their various groups and associations which are steadily, though silently, transforming the economic and cultural life of Bihar. Within half an hour's drive from Patna is the famous Sadaquat Ashram which is the nerve-centre of Bihar's national politics. But its significance as an educational colony is no less great. Growing on a beautiful mango-grove dedicated by a noble Moslem patriot to national service, the Ashram offers practically free education and board to generation of youths who came out as devoted workers for national service. The soul of the Ashram is naturally the selfless national leader Dr. Rajendra Prasad. He occupies a most humble cottage and shares in every way the joys and sorrows, the inconveniences and privations of the poorest students of the province. It is but natural, therefore, that Bihar, of all other provinces, holds the proud record of initiating officially, through its noble ex-Minister of Education, Dr. Syed Mahmood, an all round renovation of national education by completing in March the voluminous and valuable Reports of the Education Re-organization Committe which terminated its work at the residence of the learned Vice-Chancellor Dr.

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Sachchidananda Sinha. The most significant parts of the Report relate to the detailed exposition of the Basic Education growing out of the important and original project of mass education formulated by Mahatma Gandhi in his Wardah Scheme. The second and third volumes of the Report deal with the necessary adjustments in our Secondary and University education if and when we succeed in making the primary education free, compulsory, co-operative and truly democratic in spirit.

Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University, a member of the Committee, submitted a special scheme of a Museum of National Education for Bihar at Patna. It was unanimously decided to incorporate this scheme in the body of the Report recommending that the Government should set up such a Museum if possible immediately, to illustrate, for the benefit of the public, the programme of (a) Basic (b) Secondary (c) Professional & Technical (d) University and Cultural Education. Ardent co-operation has been offered by the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, by the Director of Public Instruction, by the officers of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and the Patna Museum. In between the Committee sittings, Dr. Nag addressed several meetings at Patna. His lecture on "Greater India" at the Science College roused considerable enthusiasm and Dr. Nag was requested by some distinguished citizens of Patna to give a practical shape to his cultural programme. In an eloquent and thought-provoking address on "International Affairs and World Fellowship" delivered at the Senate Hall with the Vice-Chancellor presiding and with the *elites* of the town participating, Dr. Nag drew a vivid picture of the world chaos prevailing during the quarter of a century from the last World War to the present war. Isolation and non-co-operation may be temporary phases in the domestic politics of India but she simply cannot help participating in the task of working out a World Order beyond and above the present world chaos. He gave a graphic account of the activities of the various organizations working for that end and finally, as Chairman of the Calcutta Branch of the Indian Institute of International Affairs he recommended the formation of a *study-circle* of the pattern of the study group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs which has its Indian centre at New Delhi with branches at Bombay and Calcutta. Dr. Nag's proposal was carried by acclamation and the Vice-Chancellor generously offered full co-operation.

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Epidemiological Intelligence Service Under War Conditions

The delaying of mails and telegrams and supervision of wireless messages were bound to render more difficult the work of a department engaged in the rapid dissemination of information received from several hundred health and statistical authorities. At the same time, the very conditions which render communication difficult make it imperative to continue the service furnished by the *Weekly Epidemiological Record*.

Even before the outbreak of war, the League's Epidemiological Bureau at Singapore, which is responsible for the collection of a large part of the information published in this weekly bulletin, approached the Governments concerned, in order to safeguard its cable and wireless communications. At the same time, arrangements were made in Geneva for the reception of the Bureau's wireless bulletins. This meant that delays in telegraphic transmission could be avoided.

On September 5th, it was announced that the bulletin of the Bureau would continue to be broadcast, both by the Eastern stations and by Radio-Nations at Geneva. Public health administrations concerned to know the incidence and course of epidemic diseases can thus pick up the broadcasts and so safeguard themselves against any delay in the distribution of the *Weekly Epidemiological Record* by post. The replies received in the Health Section showed the eagerness with which epidemiological offices greeted this arrangement.

The broadcast from Singapore and that from Alexandria (the Regional Epidemiological Bureau) are now being picked up at Geneva and the *Record* has thus continued to appear regularly with never more than twenty-four hours' delay since the outbreak of war. The information it contains is practically complete, since all the belligerent countries, except Poland, have continued to send epidemiological reports in the usual way. Notes, supplemented by statistical tables and graphs, deal with the chief diseases which assume special importance in present circumstances—that is, typhoid fever, dysentery and typhus. With regard to typhus, with the refugee problem in mind, both the Hungarian and Romanian authorities have agreed to expedite the despatch of their regular returns.

War and Education under fire.

War is a calamity to all educationists for it snaps all connections between nation and nation. It is some consolation, however, to notice

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that the International Federation of Teachers' Associations from its Headquarters at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operations, Paris, is continuing its noble work contributing towards educational co-operation and international good-will. Thanks to their services under the trying conditions of war, we know something about the lot of teachers and pupils in war affected areas : The Czech schools under Nazi regime suffered terribly ; thousands of teachers were dismissed because they were "non-Aryans" and in February, 1939, all civil servants in the ministry of education and school teachers were obliged under pressure from Berlin, to sign a "declaration of Aryanism". The same pathetic cry from the heroic people of Poland through Mr. Stanczyk came : "the occupiers of our country have burnt a great part of our museum collections, our art galleries and libraries. They have closed or disbanded the universities and the majority of the elementary and secondary school...They deported boys and girls of over 14 into labour camps in Germany ...They shot 120 school boys who refused to sing the Hilter anthem. The Russians have interned hundreds of Polish teachers."

Alas ! the condition of the Scandinavian countries appears to be no better. Finland has suffered terribly, Denmark is swallowed, Norway is uuder fire and the conflagration may soon spread to Sweden. So there appears to be very little chance of holding the Teachers' Conference for the Nordic states of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, proposed to be held at Oslo in August, 1940. A similar conference at Bergen on economic relations sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs was abandoned on the eve of this fateful war in August, 1939. All the civil servants called up to defend Norway's neutrality will, during their military service, be paid full salary. The Governments of Norway and Sweden arranged for the education of a large number of Finnish children. As soon as Russia began to attack Finland, the Red Cross and other associations in Sweden started a subscription list and arranged taking Finnish mothers with their children in Swedish homes. Workmen in big factories decided to work an extra day and sent that extra pay to the fund for Finland which, by the middle of January, swelled to 62 million Swedish crowns, besides hundreds of tons of clothes, shoes, food-stuffs and complete outfit for babies. This is in every way worthy of the nation producing Ellen Key and Selma Lagerlof, two outstanding women writers and humanists of our age.

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Soviet Offensive Against India
Suggestions of An Oriental League of Nations,

Under the caption "Diversion on India" 'Le Courrier de Syrie' (an Arab newspaper) writes Damascus, April, 19 on the subject of the possibility of a Soviet offensive in the direction of India.

"As to the supposition that the population of India would help the Russian design, it is sufficient simply to remember that Bolshevism persecutes all forms of religion and social structrue, while India is essentially a religious country."

The "Fate el Arab" considers that the time has come for the people of the Orient, and especially Islamic Orient, to group themselves with the object of guaranteeing peace in the countries extending from Afghanisthan to Egypt and from Turkey to Yemen".

The journal adds that question of vital importance confront the the Oriental nations and they should envisage their collaboration in the formation of a super-institution on the lines of the League of Nations, which would regulate the conditions of the reforms, to which they must submit, cultural, agricultural and industrial exchanges which they should establish among themselves.

It is in this way, says the paper that these countries with unlimited frontiers will constitute a collection of people which will be regarded with respect.—Reuter.

The above warning coming from our Arab friends of Syria should make every Indian, in fact every Asiatic, ponder about the future of the Oriental nations. The supposed difference between Nazism and Sovietism exists no longer for we see Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia united to-day by a portentious plan of Totalitarian domination of the world. Central Europe is under their heels and they have almost succeeded in terrorising the Scandinavian nation. The Balkan states appear to be their potential victims and there is every chance of the Nazi-Soviet aggression to darken the political horizon of Asia, as we opine while penning the last sentence of our Editorial. To counteract this evil we must think in term of a concrete organisation like the Oriental League of Nations. It should have its Headquarters in India which is the historical meeting-ground of the races and cultures from the Near East and from the Far East. Through Islam we Indians should appeal to all the nations of Western Asia from Afganisthan to Egypt and Turkey. So through Buddhism we may draw the Tibetans, the Mangolians, the Chinese and the Japanese to join hands

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with us in combating the subversive activities of the Totalitarian states. Not only our political and economic organizations but the various denominations and foundations should co-operate in order to make the Oriental League of Nations in every way worthy of that title. It will supply the most necessary corrective to the theoretically world-wide but practically European League of Nations at Geneva. The Oriental League of Nations may co-operate with it as well as with the Pan-American Union, the British Commonwealth of Nations and such living organisations which function with definite historical traditions and objectives. The idea of such a World Federation would be the most stimulating factor welding all the liberty-loving nations of the globe against the ominous forces of disintegration and chaos symbolised by Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia. We hope to develop our project further in our next issue of New Asia,

Acknowledgments

Far from slackening its pace the war has redoubled its fury and while human life seems to be shockingly cheap, human relationship is ever so difficult to maintain. The News Agencies are so busy with things military that we find very little material or scope for discussing the cultural and moral plights of nations. The more thankful therefore we are to those kind friends who remember us in our isolation by sending us gifts of valuable books, bulletins, and periodicals enabling us to appreciate partially the problems and points of view of our colleagues on the other side of the wall of isolation. Thanks to the Editor of that progressive paper, the *Unity* of Chicago, we could publish for the benefit of our readers the stimulating article on "Creative Democracy" by the octogenarian philosopher John Dewey. We are thankful also to the Editor of the *Osaka Mainichi* (English Annual) for the highly interesting and comprehensive article on the "Outline of Nippon Literature" by Mr. Yasushi Uriu. This came very appropriately with the inauguration of the **Japan Library** of Calcutta where many people will get the facility for learning something about Japanese art, literature and other branches of Oriental culture. So we have taken reprints of this article as well as of the valuable article on the "Constitutional Government in Turkey" by Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh who is giving exhaustive and up-to-date surveys of the constitutional experiments made by the different nations of New Asia. Similar studies have already been published in our journal which should also be reprinted e.g, on "Modern Nepal" by Mr. T. Fukai and on the "Art and Archæology of Japan" by Dr. Kalidas Nag. Those who wish to keep with them copies of such articles for reference may apply with four annas postage stamps to the Librarian, **Japan Library, 34, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.**

Lastly, we are thankful to the International Cultural Society (Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai) of Tokyo for their generous gift of valuable books on the life and culture of Japan which will go to enrich the *Japan Library* and enable the Indian readers to form some idea of the cultural heritage of Eastern Asia.

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NEW ASIA

It is a well-known fact that the Indian public has been showing an increasing interest in Asiatic affairs. But, unfortunately owing to the lack of well-directed supply of authentic news in India, our countrymen have been so long content with fragmentary and misleading versions of important Asian problems of the day. This state of affairs is bound to lead the Indian public to form an uncritical, second-hand idea of Indo-Asiatic relations; and no doubt, it adversely affects the political, economic and cultural interests of India.

With a view to counteract this evil and to develop the spirit of human solidarity in our continent, the "New Asia" is started. The "New Asia" is a quarterly review which plans to make an accurate survey and unprejudiced interpretation of Asiatic affairs, based on facts and figures collected from original and authentic sources. Our journal welcomes publications for review and articles on political, economic, social and cultural problems faced by New Asia in the present time. As our journal reaches the representative thought-centres of the East and the West, the "New Asia" will function as an effective intellectual link between India and her sister-nations of the Renascent East.

The "New Asia" recognises no distinction of race, creed or political party. Its chief aim is to diffuse facts and ideas relating to our great Asiatic continent and to foster the cause of International understanding based on Truth and Justice.

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NEW ASIA

An Organ of Oriental Culture and Thought.

JULY, 1940.

CALCUTTA

VOL. II. NO. 3. ONE RUPEE.

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NEW ASIA

Vol. II. JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1940 No. 3.

EDITORIAL

Europe is in conflagration and we do not know whether it would spread over the continent of Asia also. Peace prospects are very poor indeed for the European nations, tragic victims of conflicting state systems. In Eastern Asia the Sino-Japanese war was not so much a war of "ideologies" as of economic mal-adjustments. China, thanks to the violent and non-violent penetration of the White races proved to be the most dangerous zone of "depression" in the political barometer of the East and so typhoons and tornedoes have been ravaging her for nearly a century, ever since the Opium war of 1840. In the last half of a century Japan became progressively the dominant power in the Eastern Asia and the wisest course for China to follow would have been to evolve a close political and economic co-operation between Japan and China. That however was unfortunately so much against the entrenched vested interests of the Western powers that they left no stone unturned to alienate China from Japan. Hence the tragedy of the Chiang Kai-shek regime which, after desperate and fruitless attempts to secure the help of the Western powers, is now thrown absolutely at the mercy of the Communist government of Russia. That government, we know, under the silent and sinister influence of Soviet diplomats, had already extended its tentacles over the Near East, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea zones, and quite recently over Afghanistan, our next-door neighbour. Thus the whole of the Near East from Turkey to Afghanistan appears to be threatened with the invasion of the contending diplomacies of Europe including Soviet Russia. India, the biggest (in quantity if not in quality) unit in the Middle East is caught napping and unprepared from the point of view of adequate national defence in these fateful days of war and violence. Mere pronouncement of the

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mantra of non-violence cannot help her in this crisis. This has been realised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others who boldly tried to lift the National Congress above the abstraction of the Gandhian creed. Let us hope that under the new leadership India with her 400 millions will prove strong enough to maintain the equillibrium in the Middle East, by stabilizing the economic and strategic policies of India, Burma and Ceylon with regard to the problems of Indo-China and the East Indies. The French and the Dutch domination over those regions may or may not last long. What is urgent for us Indians to remember is that the future of India is to a large extent connected with the future of the nations of East Asia. It was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Koumintang Party and the National Government in China, who first advocated the principle of Greater Asian solidarity. That however proved too difficult a task for China to accomplish and Japan is the only Asiatic power capable of appreciating and applying the profound policy underlying Dr. Sun Yat-sen's message. Hence we find that from Japan emanated the first clear pronouncement of the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine and the first project of the Asiatic League of Nations. If Japan and China could only stop hostilities and devote their energies now to the creative programme of economic and cultural co-operation, not only Eastern Asia but, we hope, the whole continent of Asia will recover lasting peace and prosperity. The days of vague internationalism of the Geneva League type are gone and Europe, after this tragic war, will be the first to stabilize the European League of Nations, just as the recent Pan-American Conference of Havana is doing with regard to the American League of Nations. Will Asia with her teeming millions fail to read the signals of history ? We hope not. The Time Spirit is working in our favour and what tons of books and publications on world affairs could not teach us, the potent World forces are teaching to every man and woman of New Asia, who will continue to think more and more in terms of an Asiatic League of Nations and of Asia's great mission for the regeneration of mankind.

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The Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai

(The Society for International Cultural Relations)

By **Frank A. von Heiland,** Pan-Pacific Union

Maintaining contacts with numerous educational institutions, organizations and individuals in over fifty countries, the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai of Tokyo, known in English as the Society for International Cultural Relations is probably one of the most active international organizations in the Far East. Its activities cover a wide range of academic and cultural interests in order to satisfy the varied requests for informative material on Japan that daily pour into the society's Tokyo headquarters from all parts of the World.

These requests include study scholarships, exchange professorships, lectures, films and other visual material, literature on diverse subjects, participation in expositions and art exhibitions and so on *ad infinitum*. Among letters from learned institutions requesting the good offices of the society for a donation of books there are also letters from children asking for dolls and toys for their school exhibits. Among requests from museums for a loan of Japanese art treasures there are others for gramophone records of music. All these orders the society endeavours to fulfil.

Founded in the spring of 1934 by eminent scholars, noblemen and other cultural leaders, the society is an endowed foundation. It was established principally for two reasons : first, to satisfy an evergrowing demand abroad for information on Japan, as well as for facilities for the study of the country, its culture and its people ; and second, to make accessible in foreign languages information which previously could be found only in Japanese.

With H. I. H. Prince Takamatsu, second brother of the Emperor, as patron and Prince Fumimaro Konoe, the premier, as President, the society is under capable leadership. The present executive head is Mr. Matsuzo Nagai, former ambassador to Germany and long in Japan's diplomatic service in the United States, who is Chairman of the Board of Directors, succeeding Count Ayske Kabayama who resigned in last spring after serving since the founding of the society.

In its five years of work, the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai has engaged in manifold activities and designed to facilitate the study and understanding of Japan. One of the noteworthy projects was the special loan exhibition

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of Japanese art treasures held at the Boston Museum of Fine Art in connection with the tercentenary celebration of Harvard University. It has participated in twentyseven exhibitions and expositions, including the current New York and San Francisco World Fairs. It has donated books on Japan to numerous foreign institutions, including a gift of two thousand volumes to the University of Hawaii in 1937. About thirty professors and lecturers have been sent to a dozen of foreign countries.

Up to the spring of this year, the society has sponsored nearly a hundred lectures for foreign audiences in Japan on a wide variety of subjects pertaining to the history, culture and institutions of the country. During the past year over 300 documentary films on twenty different subjects, 12,500 photographs, 12,700 lantern slides and nearly 40,000 books, pamphlets and brochures were sent abroad. Scholarships have been awarded to thirty-five foreign students to date. Over 2,500 annually use the society's library, which is equipped at present with nearly 6,000 volumes pertaining to Japan and the Orient in foreign languages, principally English.

Among the widely known books published by the society are "Glimpses of Japanese Ideals" by Jiro Harada, "The Art of the Landscape Garden in Japan" by Tsuyoshi Tamura, "Introduction to Contemporary Japanese Literature" by a staff of editors composed of well-known critic and "Guide to Japanese Studies" by a staff of professors.

Important publication projects undertaken by the society are the *Encyclopaedia Japonica* in two large volumes of over a thousand pages each and the Tokugawa Legal Documents (civil laws of feudal Japan) in fifteen volumes of 600 pages each, both to be published in English. The latter is under the supervision of Dr. John Henry Wigmore, Dean Emeritus of the College of Law, Northwestern University, who is editing the manuscripts in Evanston as the translations are sent from Japan.

The society is represented in the United States by the Japan Institute, which was established in Rockefeller Centre, New York City, in the fall of 1938, in view of the great American demand for information on Japan. It is equipped with a reference library of several thousand books, periodicals and other materials written in Japanese, as well as a collection of books in English. Contacts are being maintained with 500 learned societies, educational institutions and organizations throughout the world.

The Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai is continuing to forge strong cultural links with other nations in the belief that in the higher realms of scholarship and culture there exists an area of common interest and that in furthering such activities in collaboration with foreign countries lies the solution to better international understanding.

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Muslim Poets and Hindi Literature

By Kalidas Mukerjee, M.A.

Hindi literature is the joint creation of the Hindoos and the Musalmāns. The early invasions of the Musalmāns were only to plunder and devastate India—a country of immense riches and splendour, and as their stronghold grew greater and faster, they gradually came in touch with the Indian civilisation. In the early periods of their settlement no direct effort was made by them to spread their culture, but in their iron manner they displayed something of their own will.

Mullā-Dāuda was the first man to display his genius in Hindi, quite early—when Hindi had been just emerging out of the *Apabhramsa* stage. Whatever he wrote in his immature-Hindi-language, has made him the pioneer. Mullā-Dāuda's contribution in the field of Romantic novel was followed later on by the Sūfī-poets.

At the close of the 13th and the opening of the 14th century sprang forth Khusro with his Hindi riddles and mukris. He wrote in Persian script to amuse those Muslims who had settled in and about Delhi. These people had a taste for Hindi and the composition of Khusro was liked by them; that the poet Khusro has been put to so great an esteem was only due to his Khālique-Barī-Kos'. In this book we get an admixture of Turki, Persian and Hindi words, One of his mukris runs as follows :—

सारी रैन मोहिं संग जागा।
भोर भई तब बिछुरन लागा॥
वाके बिछुरत फाटल हिया।
ए सखि साजन? ना लखि दिया॥

Then came the Sūfī-poets. Among them Kutuban, Manjhan, Malik Muhammad Jāyasī and Usmān are very popular. Like all these Sūfī-poets, Jāyasī the best of the lot, chose the Oudhī-language and by a popular love-story tried to bring to light the fundamental element existing between man and God. He took the most popular story, viz. that of Padmāvatī and by his poetic genious tried to show the

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obstacles that lay on the path of Ratna Singh, the lover. At the end of the story he explained the allegory by the following lines :—

तन चितउर मन राजा कीन्हा । हिय सिंघल, बुधि पदीमनि चीन्हा ॥
गुरु सुआ जेइ पंथ दिखावा । बिनु गुरु जगत को निरगुन पावा ?
नागमती यह दुनिया धांधा । बांचा सोइ न एहि बंधा ॥
राघव दूत सोई सैतानू । माया अलाउदीं सुलतानू ॥
प्रेम कथा एहि भांति बिचारहु । बुझि लेहु जौ बुझै चित पारहु

This story had been so popular that it was translated into Bengali, later on, by Alwāla.

Among the compositions of the Sūfī-poets Jāyasī's had been the best. Kutuban and Manjhan had written Mrigāvatī and Madhumālati respectively ; in addition to these two, Mugdhāvatī and Premāvatī had been written before Jāyasī. In all these stories the Muslim poets by popular love-stories had tried to bring out the hidden allegory.

At the time of Emperor Akbar Hindi literature had reached its golden age. It was due to Tulsīdās and Sūradās and to some extent due to the Muslim poets as well. Leaving aside the question of Tulsīdās and Sūradās, when we consider the Muslim poets, we find Rahīm and Raskhāna shinning most brilliantly.

Rahīm was born in 1553 and was the Prime Minister of Akbar. In addition to his knowledge of Arabic and Persian we find him to be a Sanskrit Pandit, and he was, moreover, well versed in Hindi. Rahīm was well aware of the social Institutions of India and it is for this reason we find him displaying his genius to so wide an extent. His following lines are very popular :—

धूत धरत निज सीस पर, कह रहीम केहि काज़
जेहिरज मुनी पतनी तरी सो ढुंढ़त गजराज ॥

Rahīm was friend of Tulsīdās, and when the latter had once sent a letter to the former through a poor man, with the following line :—

सुरतिय, नरतिय, नागतिय सब चाहत ऊस कोय ।

Rahīm completed it by writing :—

गोद लिये हुलसी फिरे तुलसी सो सुत होय ॥

Rahīm had a command over both the north Indian languages Oudhi and Braj-Bhākhā and his books "Rahīm Satsai", "Barvai-Rāmāyana" and "Rāsa-Pañcādhyāyī" have been very famous.

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Raskhāna was a pakkā Krishna-Bhakta and he has been given a place in the "Discourses of 252 Vaishnavas" (२५२ वैसखानों की वार्ता). His verses had been so charming that later on any composition on Sriṅgāra-rasa (शृंगाररस) was called "Raskhāna". 'Prema-Vātikā' and 'Sujāna-Raskhāna' are his best compositions, He wrote particularly on Krishna and Rādhā and the utter devotion of a Muslim for Krishna is shown by the following lines :—

मानुष हों तो वही रसखान बसों संग गोकुल गांव के ग्वारन।
जो पसु हौं तो कहां बसु मेरो चरौं नित नंद की धेनु मँझारन॥
पाहन हौं तो वही गिरि को जो कियो हरि छत्र पुरंदर-धारन।
जौ खग हौं तो बसेरो करौं मिलि कालिंदि कूल कदंब की डारन॥

Akbar the great has been included in the list of poets. His following lines at the death of Bīrbal prove it :—

सब कछु दीनन दीन, एक दुरायो दुसह दुख।
सोउ दै हमहिं प्रबीन, नहीं राख्यो कछु वीरवर॥

Quadir, the disciple of Saiyad Ebrāhim, composed nice poems in Hindi. His couplets are found scattered in the United Provinces specially round about Hardoi, but no complete work of the great poet has yet been found.

Then we fined Mubārak, a good poet indeed trying to decorate the Hindi literature with his fine verses at the beginning of the 17th Century (C. 1613). He had a sound knowledge of Arabic and Persian and he was well versed in Sanskrit and Hindi, too. Here lay his merits in fine compositions. He dealt with each part of the 'Nāikā' (heroine) and composed no less than hundred couplets on each of the ten parts. His merit is well-divulged in "Tila-Shatak". After all he was a poet on 'Sriṅgāra-rasā'. One of his couplets runs as follows :—

चिबुक-कूप, रसरी-अलक, तिल सु चरस, हग बैल।
बारी बैस सिंगार की सींचत मनमथ छैल॥

Emperor Shāhjahān at times made verses in Hindi. When imprisoned by Aurangzeb he composed the following:—

जन्मत ही लख दान दियो, अरु नाम धसी नवरंग बिहारी।
बालीह सों प्रतिपाल कियो, अरु देल मुलुक्क दियो बलभारी॥
सो सुत बैर कुमै मन में, धीर हाय! दियो बंधसार में डारी।
शाहजहां बिनवै हरिसों, बलि शजिव नैन रजाय तिहारी॥

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Ali Muhibkhan, better known as 'Pritam' was a humourous poet and flourished at the beginning of the 18th Century (1730). As a humorous poet he wrote his "Khatamala-bāisī". In addition to this he composed nice verses on heroic-sentiment (वीररस) and a few on Sringa-rasā.

In addition to the poets mentioned above, there were 'Tāj' and many others inclusive of Raslīn who had written plenty of books in Hindi. The Hindi world is indebted much to them. Raslīn was a natural poet, gifted with a strong common sense and a presence of mind which never failed him in the greatest danger. His similes and metaphors are marvellous. Out of his books 'Aṅgadarpaṇa' and 'Rasa-prabodha' are very popular. His compositions on 'Six-Seasons' (षट्-ऋतु) and the 'Twelve-months' (बारह मास) may be compared with any good Hindi poet.

These Muslim poets showed their passionate zeal for Hindi and specially for Braja-bhākhā. Among them many were as good Vaishnavas as any Hindoo, for instance, Raskhāna may be mentioned. Many of these Muslim poets, shunning the Persian literary atmosphere had so closely adopted the Hindi one, that at the present day they have been put to great esteem by the Indian mass and moreover their names have been so inseparably connected with the Hindi-literature that even the iron-hand of the age will feel it hard to separate.

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JAPAN'S TRADE HISTORY

In the Past Twenty-six Centuries

By **Asit Krishna Mukerji,**

Editor: Eastern Economist.

According to early history, Japan's foreign trade activities in ancient times were restricted almost exclusively with Korea. No sufficient historical data are available at present to clarify Japan's commercial relations in about six hundred years directly following the founding of the Empire. Continental culture was introduced and diffused by the naturalized peoples who migrated in large number to Japan from the regions of Shiragi, Koma and Kudara (districts in Korea). These same people greatly contributed to the promotion of culture and economy in this country.

Japan's intercourse with China seems to have existed even in the days of the *Kan* period, and the post-Kan period privately. Officially, however, the communication with China started in the sixth year of the reign of Emperor Yuryaku, when an official messenger visited Japan from the country of *Go*, a district of Korea. This call was returned by a visit of a Japanese delegate to *Go* in the eighth year during the same reign. It is well known that the traffic between Japan and China took place with commodities as well as with men in those days, for in about 264 years, Imperial delegates were sent to China on fifteen occasions. Many official representatives and merchant vessels also visited Japan from China.

Trade activities conducted by these Imperial delegates and Chinese vessels seem to have been what may be termed governmental monopolies and were conducted under State control.

These Japanese Imperial messengers to China took with them mostly silver, brocade yarns and cotton tissues in the form of gifts, while China sent to Japan coloured tissues, perfumed medicines and other rare articles. Chinese vessels also transported to Japan books mostly concerning Buddhism, industrial art objects, medicines and perfumes. These articles were chiefly confined to luxuries catered principally to the wealthy class, and had little to do with the general masses. Such was a general tendency of Japan's foreign trade in ancient times.

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These imported articles were received and displayed at places called *Korokan* which were located in Kyoto, Namba and Hakata. Hence, trade in those days was called *Korokan* trade.

Kasuga and Nara Eras

In the *Kasuga* and *Nara* periods and even during the *Heian* era, Japan's trade with Korea and China was continued, although the formal traffic with Korea was suspended because of internal disturbances in the peninsula. Japan was forced to announce the discontinuance of the Imperial messenger system and the prohibition of trade on several occasions, but private commercial transactions with Korea continued to be conducted. Many individuals were ready to spend fortunes to buy and secure rare articles imported from Shiragi.

Later, Shiragi went to ruin and Koma, which annexed Shiragi, sought to resume economic relations by sending a formal delegate to Japan. On October 13, in the second year of *Tenen* under the reign of the Emperor Enyu, a trade delegate from Koma visited Japan. This record clearly showed that there existed trade relations between Japan and China on an official basis in those days.

Later, Japan discovered a number of the Koma natives amongst armed pirates attacking Japanese coasts. In retaliation, Japan placed a ban on trade with Koma, but it seems that some of the powerful clans in the Kyushu district secretly violated the governmental ban and continued trade transactions with Koma.

Japan's trade and traffic with China in the *Tang* period (in China) were at their zenith from the close of the *Nara* period and in the beginning of the *Heian* period. The system of sending formal delegates to the country of *Tang*, which had contributed greatly to the promotion of Japan's civilization in ancient times, was abolished in the sixth year of *Kampei* during the reign of Emperor Uda, because of a report brought back by a *Tang* priest concerning the downfall of the *Tang* Dynasty and due to the financial conditions in this country. General trade transactions, however, continued active, and during the reign of Emperor Nimmei, a Government sample fair was opened for miscellaneous articles imported from the country of *Tang* in Kyoto. During the reigns of the Emperors Junwa, Myoko and Daigo, articles imported from *Tang* merchants were accurately listed and strictly inspected in order to prevent the sharp advance of prices at the auctions which opened immediately upon the arrival of the goods. Thus, trade transactions under Government control were encouraged.

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Fall of T'ang Dynasty

After the downfall of the *Tang* dynasty, China was compelled to undergo turbulent days, but even during those troublous periods, Japan's trade activities with China were conducted comparatively on a large scale. Later China was unified under the *Sung* dynasty, and merchant vessels from China began to call at Japanese ports. And merchants arriving here were welcomed at the foregoing *Korokan*. At times, visits of *Sung* merchants were so frequent that the Government was compelled to fix the period of sojourn for them. Later, however, in the *Konoe, Nijo Rokujo* periods, Taira-Kiyomori opened the Strait of Otodo for the construction of a harbour at Owada (Hyogo) in order to promote trade activities with the *Sung* dynasty. It is easy to imagine how difficult and adventurous the communication with the Continent was with the primitive shipbuilding and navigation technique in those early days. Major ports then were Nambatsu (present Osaka) and Miko Suimon (Muko water-gate : in the vicinity of present Hyogo). Merchant vessels reached the Matsuura beach in Hizen via the Inland Sea and present Moji and Shimonoseki, and cruised southward along the Continental coasts through the Korean waters, arriving at Kienkang (present Chiangningfu, Kiangsu Province).

Navigation of official delegates despatched to the dynasty was mostly conducted by a fleet of four vessels, leaving Nambatsu and rounding the Gulf of Pechili via the Inland Sea, Matsuura, Iki, Tsushima and Korea, or taking a route via the Tsichow Island and Chengking Province, or taking a route via the Gulf of Pechili and Shantung Province to Chengking, the capital city of the *Tang* dynasty. It generally required years to complete the round trip. In those days, the centre of trade activities with China in the Kyushu district was Dazaifu, and Matsuura was the starting point and Mecca of merchant vessels bound for China. This is the reason why Matsuura came to be called Karatsu (Tang Port) in later days.

Mediaeval Ages

Some four hundred years in the medieval ages from the *Kamakura* and *Muromachi* periods to the *Adzuchi* and *Momoyama* periods were the days dominated by feudalism. Specially since the *Kemmu* era, rival military chieftains kept continual strife with one another in various parts of the country, and formed what is generally termed the age of civil wars.

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Under the circumstances, domestic trade activities were greatly hampered. On the other hand, trade activities with foreign countries made a reactionary development on the strength of the fall of diplomatic relations and the weakening of government restrictions. These trade activities were conducted mostly by provincial lords, rich merchants or noted priests, dissatisfied with domestic conditions.

Thus, activities of Japanese traders extended not only to Korea and China, but further to the South Sea countries. Traffic with Europe was also started during these medieval periods.

Trade activities with Korea, under governmental restriction since the attack of armed pirates from Korea, became brisk as the government ban grew weaker. As a result, many Japanese civilians made expeditions to the peninsula and resorted to plundering operations since the close of the *Kamakura* era to the early days of the *Muromachi* period.

The country of Koma, afraid of Japanese attacks with the visit of the Yamato race, sent messengers to Japan frequently to ask for the ban of illegal visits and the normalization of trade activities. When Rikeisei, a Korean general, conquered the *Koma* Dynasty and restored the Korean Government during the reign of Emperor Komatsu in Japan, traffic between Japan and Korea grew further active, and the Japanese migrated to the latter country in great numbers. Many war lords here also communicated with Korea. The House of Soh in Tsushima specially made close contact with Korea because of the geographical position of its territory.

In the third year of Kayoshi under the reign of Emperor Gohanazono, Soh Sadamori concluded a contract to send 50 vessels to Korea annually, and to obtain 20,000 koku of rice and beans as remuneration. It was because the trade by the House of Soh was conducted through three ports of Korea, namely; Fuzan-po, Sei-po and En-po, the trade in those days was commonly called San-po trade or three-po trade.

Since the number of Japanese emigrants to Korea increased as a result of the growing prosperity of trade activities, disputes between the Japanese and Korean natives rose in rapid succession and culminated in the outbreak of the San-po Rebellion. Naturally, the Japanese residents in Korea withdrew from the peninsula, and trade relations between Japan and Korea were temporarily severed. The situation did not become aggravated, but the trade volume between the two countries after the resumption of trade relations was almost halved.

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Lord Soh endeavoured to restore active trade activities, but failed to regain the prosperity as in the days of Kayoshi. Until the Bunrokn campaign and the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the third year of Keicho, and the resultant withdrawal of Japanese forces from Korea by Tokugawa Iyeyasu, there-after, trade between Japan and Korea was suspended again.

In the first half of the *Kamakura* era, Japan's trade with China through the *Sung* dynasty was active privately as well as officially. The major trade port in Japan communicating with China at that time was Hakata, while Hirado steadily came into the limelight as a port of call.

Principal Trade Items

In those days principal export items from Japan to China were rice, lumber, gold, mercury, sulphur, lacquered ware, crystal work, swords and sabres and fans, while cardinal import items from China consisted of tissues, straw-mats, stationery, potteries and prefumes.

Imports of Sung coins (cast copper coins), active since the close of the *Heian* period, also continued to be prosperous. Later the *Gen* dynasty came into power on the Chinese Continent. On the heels of its successive conquests over the country of Koma and the *Sung* dynasty, the *Gen* dynasty attempted to conquer Japan. The attack of Gen soldiers resulted in one of the largest wars Japan had in her history, but the damage of the attack on the trade relations between China and Japan was comparatively slight.

The exchange of merchant ships between the two countries was restored to normal soon after the war.

The most important of Japan's trade activities with the *Gen* dynasty was the Government-licensed trade conducted by the Tenryuji-bune (Tenryuji trade vessels). This system was initiated by the Government with the object of obtaining funds for the construction of the Tenryuji Temple to be dedicated to the soul of the Emperor Godaigo. The Government introduced this system after the example of the Kenchoji vessels and Sumiyoshijinsha vessels. Thus, during and after the reign of the Emperor Gomurakami, all trade ships plying between Japan and the country of Gen, were required to deliver a certain amount of money to the Tenryuji Temple, irrespective of the time of the return of the vessels and the amount of profits gained. The Kanjobune (Accounting Vessel) trade or the Shuinbune (Red Marked Vessel) trade, initiated in later days,

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originated from the licensed trade in this period. Trade items in transactions with the *Gen* dynasty were little different from articles which formed the trade with the *Sung* dynasty.

In the 1st year of Oh-an under the reign of the Emperor Chokei, the *Ming* dynasty came to succeed the *Gen* dynasty and placed all China under its unified administration on the Continent. Negotiations for the start of a friendship trade between Japan and the *Ming* dynasty were commenced by the Ming's at first, and later by the Japanese but they failed because of a disagreement between the two parties.

Ming Trade Resumption

Later, the Muromachi Government sought profits in trade with the *Ming* dynasty to make up for losses in the Government's treasury. In the eighth year of Ohei under the administration of Shogun Yoshimitsu, a special messenger was sent to the *Ming* dynasty to arrange for the re-opening of trade relations. As a result, a treaty for the exchange of Kanjo (Accounting) trade vessels between the two countries was concluded in the 11th year of Ohei, and the *Ming* dynasty named Ningpo its trade port for the purpose.

By virtue of this treaty, the two countries came to exchange delegations composed of 200 members and two vessels every ten years. And the two Governments distinguished delegation ships from pirate ships by means of the Kanjo-fu or licensed marks. Under the reign of Shogun Yosinori, the Goverument charged the House of Ouchi in the Suho province with the control over the licensed marks. Later, therefore, trade activities with the *Ming* dynasty fell under the influence of that house.

Tributes and trade items in those days principally consisted of horses, sulphur, agate, swords, fans, armours and lacquered ware from Japan to China and raw silk, gold and silver, old ware, paintings and writings, copper coins, etc. Copper moneys minted under the name of Eiraku coins in those days with copper imported from the *Ming* dynasty, went a long way toward alleviating the coin famine at that time, while the exports of swords proved extermely profitable and served to relieve the stringency of financial conditions of the Government.

With the advent of the civil-war age, this form of trade was abolished, but trade relations between the two continued to prosper, and some war lords in the Kyushu district attempted to conduct regular trade transactions with the *Ming* dynasty. In those days, Hirado rose in place

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of Hakata as the major trade port, while Sakai came to replace Hyogo as a Mecca for foreign trade.

Relations with the Malay States

Japan's trade with Chusung, Annam and Thailand and other South Sea countries was initiated by private merchants in the days of the *Muromachi* period.

Historical data point out that the Japanese already visited the South Sea regions toward the latter part of the 16th century when Spain started its expeditions to the Philippine Islands. Toyotomi Hideyoshi recognized the freedom of foreign trade and established the Shuinbune (red-marked-ship) system in the first year of Bunroku (1592). By virtue of this system, Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued red-marked licenses to trade vessels engaged in trade with South Sea countries to certify that they had no intention other than pure trade activities. This Shuinbune system apparently took after the Kanjobune (accounting vessel) system, but their intrinsic nature was entirely different. Such an attitude on the part of Toyotomi Hideyosho towards foreign trade activities enabled leading merchants in Kyoto, Sakai, Hakata and Nagasaki to carry on active trade transaction, while a number of provincial lords also obtained the red-marked licenses to engage in trade. These lords were commonly called trade lords. Major export items by the Shuinbune trade included copper, copper ware, lacquered ware, fans, folding-screens, sulphur, camphor, armours, amber, cow hides and fancy goods, while major imports were cocoons, raw silk, silk tissues, woollen tissues, sugar, medicines, fragrant wood, cinnabar, mercury, glass, ivory, agate, coral, potteries and metal ware. All these export and import items were luxuries catered to the upper class of people. Naturally, traders realized enormous profits.

Marco Polo Introduces Japan

Towards the end of the 13th century, Marco Polo, the noted Italian writer and traveller, introduced Japan as a treasure island located to the east of the China Sea, to Europe. As a result, Europeans began to appear in Japan about 2203 (Japanese calender), namely, in the 11th year of Tenbun (according to western date) or the 12th year of Tenbun (according to Nampo Bunshu), or some 400 years ago.

In some quarters, it is held that Japan's trade with Europe originated from barter transactions conducted with a Portuguese ship which was cast ashore at the Tanekojima Islands to the south of Satsuma (in Kyushu) in those days. There is also an opinion that the origin of Japan's trade with Europe is traced to a trade between a Portuguese ship and a certain

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Otomo at the time of the ship's visit at Bungo in the third year of Kyoroku some 10 years later. Nevertheless, articles brought by Portuguese vessels in those days were rare and unique commodities, such as rifles, etc., and war lords in the Kyushu district hastened to open ports in their territories in mad attempt to obtain products of Namban (Southern countries).

During the intercourse, they permitted foreigners to pass through their territories and recognised the freedom of missionary work. Because of such courteous treatments given to foreign vessels, Japan's contact with Europe led by Portugal became increasingly closer. Thus, the scope of Japan's trade activities extended from China and Korea to the South Sea region and Europe. Drastic changes took place with major trade ports as a natural result. As the trade routes of Japan advanced southward, Bonotsu of Statsuma and Hirado of Hizen came into the limelight in addition to Sakai and Hakata. Specially, the number of trade vessels and traders coming to Hirado increased year by year. Since the 2nd year of Genki under the reign of the Emperor Ohgimachi when Omura Sumitada, Lord of Omura, Hizen, opened the Port of Nagasaki to foreign trade; these two ports, namely; Hirado and Nagasaki became two most important ports for Japan's foreign trade with Europe.

Modern Ages

It goes without saying that Japan's foreign trade in the modern ages prior to the *Meiji* era was the trade of the *Tokugawa* era. For accuracy, it is convenient to divide the foreign trade during the *Edo* period into two stages, namely; the first preceding the national isolation and the second coming after that.

Iyeyasu Tokugawa, the first shogun of the House of Tokugawa, was more or less interested in diplomacy and foreign civilization. As a policy of unifying the country and stabilizing the foundation of the Tokugawa Government, especially in conciliating the Osaka "ronin" (lordless samurai), he was first enthusiastic in the promotion of foreign trade and took a positive attitude towards the freedom of trade. Speaking about Japan's trade with Korea in those days, Japan's trade relations with the country, in suspension since the *Bunroku* period, were steadily restored as a result of the visit of a delegation from the country in the 9th year of Keicho through the efforts of the House of Soh at the command of Tokugawa Iyeyasu. In the 14th year of Keicho, a treaty was concluded between Japan and Korea, and by virtue of its provisions, a Nippon-kwan (Japanese House) was established at Fuzan, Korea, and an agreement

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was reached in regard to the number of trade vessels, official sales of articles, opening of fairs, etc. In those days, Japan's trade with Korea was unrestricted in respect to the value of transactions.

With the advent of the isolation period, however, the trade volume was extremely restricted for reason of checking the reckless outflow of gold and silver. Iyeyasu Tokugawa also planned to restore friendly relation with the *Ming* dynasty, greatly depressed since the civil-war period. In view of the slow progress of direct negotiations, however, he attempted to make the Government of Loochoo Islands to mediate in the negotiations through the House of Shimadzu in Kyushu. Sho Nei, the King of the Loochoo Islands, first refused the proposition and took an insolent attitude, but later as the House of Shimadzu resorted to force, the King yielded. Thus, the project of Iyeyasu was materialized and trade relations with China became active again.

Japan's trade with South Sea countries continued to develop even in the early days of the Tokugawa period. The Shuinbune (red-marked ship) system, initiated by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, was stabilized by Tokugawa Iyeyasu. The Tokugawa Shogunate Government issued the first Shuinbune trade licenses in the 9th year of Keicho (1604). The number of licenses issued by the Tokugawa Government during the 13 years from 1604 to the 2nd year of Genwa, clearly registered in records alone and totalled 199 licenses delivered to 93 persons. The shuinjo or red-marked licenses (licenses given under the Shuinbune system) were effective only for a period of one year and for one return voyage. The actual number of licenses issued is believed to have been far greater than they were recorded. In parallel with the development of trade, the Japanese emigrated in great numbers to South Sea countries (present Malay States) during the *Keicho* and *Kan-ei* eras. As a result, even Japanese towns came to be found in Chusang and Siam (present Thailand) and other South Sea countries. Just as those South Sea countries were lenient towards the visit of Japanese and Japanese vessels, Japan was similarly lenient towards the visit of merchant vessels from those regions. The trade ships from South Sea countries principally called at various ports in the Kyushu district.

European Trade Appears

Since the earlier days of the *Keicho* era, Tokugawa Iyeyasu had intended to trade with New Spain (present Mexico) through the medium of Chusung, but Chusung failed to accept Iyeyasu's proposal. Later however, a Spanish vessel was cast ashore. When sending back the

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crew of that ship to Spain, Iyeyasu made a few Japanese merchants accompany them in order to conduct direct negotiations with that country. However, vessels later visiting here from Spain only brought goodwill envoys, and the time was not ripe for launching the Pacific trade for Japan. On the other hand, Holland and England entered the stage of Japan's European trade, in addition to Portugal and Spain. In the 5th year of Keicho, a Dutch vessel was wrecked on the coast of Bungo, and Tokugawa Iyeyasu gave a warm reception to the crew of that ship. This proved to be the start of Japan's relations with Holland. Nine years later, two Dutch ships arrived at Hirado via Nagasaki, and then despatched a messenger to the seat of the Tokugawa Government, then in Suruga. In response to the request of the Dutch messenger, Iyeyasu issued a red-marked license, thus permitting the trade transaction between Holland and Japan. Iyeyasu also authorized the Dutch to erect a hall in Hirado for the exhibition of Dutch products. Later, another Dutch ship called again and presented credentials to Iyeyasu. In reply, Iyeyasu sent his credentials to Holland and issued a new red-marked license. This served to strengthen Japan's trade relations with that country.

Thirteen years after the arrival of the Dutch the "Glove," an English ship, visited Hirado with the intentiom of opening trade with Japan. Iyeyasu accepted a letter from James I, King of England, and sent a trade license together with his personal reply to England. The visit of the English ship is said to be greatly attributed to the efforts of an Englishman, William Adams (later called Miura Anshin in Japanese), who was the navigating lieutenant on board the Dutch ship which had been wrecked on the Japanese coast. As the English likewise opened a commercial house in Hirado, they became rivals of the Dutch and engaged in bitter competition. The English, however, lost the game and disappeard from the port after 11 years of existence there. What should not be neglected in the trade development in those days was the *Hogin* system. This was a form of investments by speculative capitals in trade vessels.

If the trade vessels in which they had invested returned safely, they received large interest on money loaned, usually amounting to 50 per cent of the principal. On the other hand, if the ships were wrecked, they lost both principal and interest. Such a risky system of loans served to furnish convenient means of securing funds for traders at that time, and contributed greatly to the promotion of trade transactions. It is something like commendam, a form of joint-undertakings or capital investments carried out in the mediaeval ages, specially in Italian trade.

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Policy Changes

The trade policy of Tokugawa Iyeyasu, which was extremely easy and lenient in the beginning, made a sharp change principally because of intrigues on the part of Dutch merchants in attempting to oust Portugal and the discovery of a plot on the part of Roman Catholics concerning the overthrow of the Shogunate Government. Under the circumstances, the Government placed a ban on the visit of Dutch and Spanish vessels simultaneously with the launching of pressure on Catholicism.

Later, in the 2nd year of Genwa, the entry of foreign vessels was restricted only to the two ports of Nagasaki and Hirado, and in the 10th year of Kan-ei, the return of overseas Japanese to Japan was prohibited. Two years later, the visit of Japanese vessels to foreign ports was banned and in the 16th year all Portuguese residents in Japan were ordered to return home. Still later the port of Hirado was closed and all the Dutch residents there were removed to Dejima in Nagasaki. Thus, the isolation policy of the Government was completed. During more than 200 years since, Japan's foreign trade with Europe survived only in the form of small transactions with the Dutch in a small territory of Dejima under severe restrictions of the Government. This is the reason why Japan's trade in those isolation days is commonly called Nagasaki trade or Dejima trade.

However, even the Dejima trade was left comparatively free in the first stage, except for raw silk transaction. With the adoption of the resolution policy by the Government, however, foreign merchants took advantage of Japan's ignorance of world affairs to realize exorbitant profits which were taken back in gold and silver. As a result the outflow of gold and silver from Japan amounted to an enormous sum.

The Shogunate Government to counteract this measure restricted the exports of silver by Dutch ships to 3,000 kwan (1 kwan=3.75 kgs.) worth 50,000 ryo. Latter, the Government further reduced the amount of silver for exports and also limited the number of vessels to be used for trade transactions. In the 2nd year of *Kansei*, the number of trade vessels was further limited to one ship, the amount of silver to be taken out to 700 kwan and of copper for exports to 600,000 kin (1 kin=0·6 kg). However, with the homeland (Holland) threatened by the attack of Napoleon I in those days, the Dejima trade finally became completely depressed.

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China Trade

During the isolation period, another country came to trade with Japan. It was China. At first, Chinese merchants were allowed to mingle freely with the Japanese people of Nagasaki and to engage in mutual transactions with Japanese traders. Later, because of ill-manners, disputes, violations of religious restrictions and other complications necessitating governmental control and supervision, the Chinese merchants were quartered in a specified foreign settlement (Tojin-mura), in Juzenji-mura in the suburbs of Nagasaki. In addition to such restrictions over residence and transactions, the trade volume and the number of vessels were restricted on similar basis as for the Dutch. In 1685, the Chinese trade with Japan was restricted to 6,000 kwan of silver and 70 trade vessels annually. Later, the volume was temporarily increased to 8,000 kwan of silver and the number of vessels to 80 ships. The increased portion of 2,000 kwan of silver to be carried by the increased number of ships was substituted with exports of commodities such as food-stuffs, camphor, gallnuts, copper and lacquer-ware, commonly called tawaramono (articles in bales), or shoshiki (miscellaneous articles), since the domestic production of copper used for the settlement of accounts with China became extremely small in those days. Restrictions became further strict later, and in the 2nd year of *Kansei*, the annual exports were limited to 2,740 kwan of copper to be carried only on 10 vessels.

Japan's trade with China and Holland included a large variety of articles both in exports and imports, including principally gold, silver and copper, as major export items and white yarns (raw silk) as a chief import item. Import transactions of raw silk in those days were conducted in a special monopolistic method termed yarn-allotment trade system. Under this system, specified merchants, named junior yarn-allotted merchants and senior yarn-allotted merchants, were stationed in Kyoto, Edo (present Tokyo), Osaka, Sakai and Nagasaki, to receive the allotment quotas of raw silk imported according to certain fixed standards. This is certainly an interesting historical measure, in view of the adoption of the import quota system at present, that a system similar in nature was already in operation in those days.

While Japan struck to the national isolation system, international conditions sharply changed. Old trading countries such as Portugal and Spain lost their prestige, and England, France, Germany and Russia rose in Europe in their stead. On the continent across the Pacific, the United States came into prominence. All these countries were engrossed in

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developing their trade markets and sought new fields in Asia. Thus, since the *Kansei* era, foreign vessels were reported to have appeared along Japanese coasts on several occasions. In the 4th year of *Kansei*, a delegate came to Nemuro (Hokkaido) and demanded to open trade relations. British ships also came and took to plundering. Thus the public feeling was thrown into turmoil and the well-imformed urged the necessity of the defence at sea. In 1839, immediately following the outbreak of the Opium War, the hand of England was extended over to the close neighbour, China but the Shogunate Government failed to awaken to the changing times. Neither did the Shogunate Government listen to an advice by the Dutch King to take a sharp change in the national policy and open the country to foreign trade. This condition of the Government, however, was not allowed to last longer.

Perry's Visit

The long isolation period of the Shogunate Government which lasted for more than two hundred years was broken by the visit of Commodore Perry from the United States at Uraga in June 1853. In the same year, a Russian ship also came to Nagasaki and sought to open trade relations. In the following year (1st year of Ansei), Commodore Perry, escorted by 7 warships, entered the port of Shimoda and sought a reply to his claim from the Government. The Shogunate Government finally accepted the American proposal and concluded a treaty of amity and friendship with the United States consisting of 12 articles, including the opening of Shimoda and Hakodate to foreign trade. This is what is known as the Kanagawa Treaty. In June 1858, Ii Naosuke then Chief Minister of the Tokugawa Government, finding it impossible to stem the tide of circumstances, signed a treaty of friendship and commerce with the United States and enacted a trade law. The Shogunate Government also took a similar step with Holland, Russia, England and France. These treaties, were unfair and unjust towards Japan, for the right of extra-territoriality for foreigners was recognized and likewise promised them the most-favoured-nation treatment and other privileges, while providing very little for Japan. Import duties imposed on goods from those countries, however, were comparatively high, and served to profit the country financially. These duties, however, were lowered to a level quite humiliating to Japan as a result of the signing of the tariff revision agreement in the 2nd year of Keio (1866), and proved to be a cause of long repentance for many years following.

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By the provisions of treaties signed with the five countries, Japan promised to open five ports for trade, namely ; Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Hakodate, Hyogo and Niigata. Actually, however, only the first three ports were opened at the beginning. Other ports could not be opened simultaneously because of the rise of strong anti-alienism. Under the circumstances, Hyogo was opened in 1867, and foreign settlements were established there and in Osaka in that year.

By that time, Japan had already concluded treaties of amity and commerce with Portugal, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium and Italy, in addition to the foregoing five countries. Thus, the opening of the country to foreign trade became an inevitable course for Japan whether she liked it or not.

At the same time, the dawn of the Meiji Restoration, the culmination of the movement for overthrowing the Shogunate Government under the original impetus of the visit of the black-ships (foreign vessels) was close at hand.

A noble poem by the Emperor Meiji

Kuni no tame Ata-nasu ata wa Kudaku tomo
Itsukushimu beki Koto na wasure so.

Though for your country's sake,
you strike the foe,
See you do not forget
The love you owe.

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THE PEACE PROBLEM AND THE UNITED STATES

By **Kojiro Sugimori**

Distrust of the Soviet Union is undoubtedly the underlying motive for the unusual mission to Europe of Mr. Sumner Welles, American Assistant Secretary of State. At the present moment the Soviet Union is uppermost in the mind of the United States, for it is towards this country that American opinion entertains the most intense fear and hatred. Even if some significance must be attached to preparations for the presidential election in November, the fact remains that Mr. Welles' visit is primarily associated with the new turn the European war has taken with the Soviet Union's invasion of Finland.

Significance must also be attached to a widespread peace movement which has been under way since last autumn. Indications of this movement can be seen from the arguments advanced by such writers as Count R. N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, his "Europe To-morrow," appearing in the September-October issue of *International Affairs*, published in London; Mr. G. D. H. Cole's "British Labour's Double War," appearing in the *Nation* of December 23, 1939; Mr. Hans Kohn's "The World Must Federate" in *Asia* magazine for February; and "War Aims and Peace Terms" by Sir Andrew McFedyan, published in the *Contemporary Review* of November, 1939. All these and similar articles too numerous to mention are symptoms of the rising peace movement.

That it is not deterimental but is wholly profitable for the United States to assist such a peace movement or to exert a decisive influence upon the course of its development must undoubtedly be in the minds of American statesmen. In view of such a situation, nothing could be better than to assume the leadership of the peace movement. Machiavelli, expounding his political doctrines to his contemporary seventeenth century statesmen, pointed out the inadvisability of maintaining neutrality to the last once a war started between neighbouring countries. He reasoned that if a country remained neutral until the war was over, the victor would be harsh with it on the ground that he owed it no debt of gratitude, while the vanquished would be resentful for its failure to help in the struggle. Machiavelli urged, therefore, that a country should take

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part in the war at an opportune moment by watching developments. Not only the interventionists, but even the isolationists in the United States can hardly afford to overlook the efficacy of Machiavelli's realistic logic.

What now appears like a peace movement in the interests of Europe is essentially in line with what the United States stand for, as this movement is primarily for the benefit of the Anglo-French Allies. Even though such terms as the United States of Europe or a New European Federation may be used to describe the goal of this peace movement, the ultimate aim is more or less a revised edition of the League of Nations and the resuscitation of collective security to which the United States ought by all means to lend a helping hand. And when it comes to the question of establishing a United States of Europe, the United States of America is certainly qualified to play a guiding part in such a project. Today is certainly no time for the United States to remain idle, cool and indifferent to the future of Europe.

But in connection with all these questions, the Soviet Union looms very large as a disturbing factor in the American mind. Germany comes next, or is associated together with Russia, while Japan is also not ignored. The Soviet Union is not included in Mr. Welles' European tour and this fact is significant. Professor C. A. Ellwood, one of the leading American sociologists, in his *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*[1] makes this interesting statement from the standpoint of population: "It seems probable, therefore, that the United States and Russia may be the two great world Powers a century hence,—particularly if Russia emerges from its present social and political troubles and takes on fully Western civilization,—while the other nations may tend to ally themselves with the one or the other of these great world Powers."

Since the conclusion of the Russo-German Non-aggression Pact of August 23, 1939, the Soviet Union has partitioned Poland with Germany, virtually seized three Baltic States, and was threatening Finland with political extinction.[2] This manifestation of Red imperialism must be a thorn in the side of the Roosevelt Administration, and the urgent necessity on the part of the United States is, therefore, to hold the Soviet Union in check lest it becomes too powerful to manage.

The present age is one of great Powers with contiguous territory. Germany's activities are in fact directed towards the acquisition of

1 C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, 1919 Edition, p. 184.
2 The article was written March 1, 1940.

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such a position. The annexation of Austria and the Sudeten district and the subsequent virtual annexation of Czechoslovakia, not to speak of the partition of Poland including the recovery of Danzig and the Corridor, are all aimed at the acquisition of such a position. In point of possessing compact territory, however, the United States is unrivalled in the world. Nevertheless, the United States cannot afford to be off guard, for Russia is already approaching very closely the status of the United States, being a single, compact continental country. In the words of Coudenhove-Kalergi, Russia is "three times as large as the rest of Europe." This same Power will perhaps expand towards India, and if such an eventuality comes, Great Britain will not be the only nation to suffer. An over-expanded Soviet Union will prove an exceedingly disagreeable neighbour to the United States, and it may not be beyond the scope of possibility that such a course of vigorous expansion will again menace the American Monroe Doctrine.

This policy was originally formulated in 1823 when the United States faced the menace of Tzarist imperialism. Today a section of opinion in American official and civilian circles has become convinced that the United States cannot afford to allow the Soviet Union a free hand in its expansion programme. This partly explains why Mr. Welles has not included Russia in his European itinerary. When the Soviet Union was shut out from the Munich Conference by Great Britain, it bitterly resented the British action which was undoubtedly one of the causes of the subsequent Nazi-Communist *rapprochement*. It will be interesting to see in what manner the Soviet Union will again even the score for Mr. Welles' failure to include Moscow in his itinerary.

The Powers which are in one way or another on the offensive today are Russia, Germany, Japan and Italy. Great Britain and France are assuming a defensive position despite their greatness and power. While rumours are rampant that Germany will commence a "spring offensive" against the Allies, there is no discussion of the possibility of an Anglo-French offensive against Germany. Great Britain and France are dear to the United States not only by reason of their democratic governments and institutions, but also for their lack of this offensive spirit. Unless this American psychology is clearly understood, it is impossible to grasp the real situation today.

Like the United States, the Soviet Union is rich in natural resources and will doubtlessly become an extremely formidable competitor of the former if given the additional power of technique and organization.

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Intelligent Americans have no fear of the Soviet Union's "Red" doctrines, for the United States has herself in recent years moved sufficiently far to the left to acquire enough understanding of such theories to negate the fear which only ultra-conservatives are apt to have. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has been moving further and further to the right. The question of ideological tendencies may be ignored, for the real problem at the present stage of world history is the doctrines of race and nationalism, or imperialism based upon such doctrines. Viewed from such a standpoint, the Soviet Union constitutes a serious problem in the American mind, for it is quite natural that the United States, asserting Pan-Americanism, should regard the Pan-Slavism of the Soviet Union with a suspicious eye.

Next to Russia, the United States regards Germany with the greatest concern, since that nation is also on the offensive. The pivot of European strength is gradually shifting to Middle Europe and towards Eastern Europe, with Germany representative of the former and Russia of the latter. To the United States, however, Western Europe still retains its significance because of its proximity. In his first inaugural address delivered on March 4, 1933, President Roosevelt said : "In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbour." Great Britain and France are good neighbours in the eyes of the United States. Italy, too, is relatively a close neighbour, although it should not be concluded that for this reason Mr. Welles chose Italy as the first country to visit on his mission. Nevertheless, some significance should be attached to this fact.

There might have been some reasons for preferring the safety of a ship travelling on the route to Italy, but the pertinent fact to remember in this connection is that Premier Mussolini is now one of the outstanding leaders of Europe. The great influence he wields can create danger and even crises, but he has thus far upheld Italy's neutrality. Contact with Reichsführer Hitler is still maintained, however, and while relations between Italy and Great Britain have become somewhat strained, the Rome-Berlin axis tends to regain its former significance. Nevertheless, Italy is not a nation which is inherently hostile towards Britain and France. In its relations with the Far East, Italy, moreover, wields great power over the vital trade routes of the Mediterranean Sea and the Near East. In view of these circumstances, the Roosevelt Administration must by all means bring Italy to the Anglo-French side.

It is impossible to ascertain whether Mr. Welles has Japan in mind

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during his European mission. Nevertheless, the fact cannot be overlooked that the United States is exceedingly suspicious of Japan today, and is undoubtedly ready to warn the European Powers, including Germany, of the danger of their falling prey to Russia and Japan, if Germany and Britain continue to oppose each other. In the case of Japan, the United States would have a particularly strong argument, pointing out that, for the sake of the White race and European civilization, the present war is a hazardous folly.

It would be a matter of grave concern to the United States, if Germany, Russia, and even Japan came into some sort of co-operative combination. This is explained by the fact that the formation of a New Europe, which will be favourably disposed towards the United States by grouping together Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, is what the United States most desires. If such is impossible, the United States would at least like to see the creation of a limited union in Western Europe, excluding Germany. Such are some of the considerations which presumably occupy the mind of the American Assistant Secretary of State.

Many a country today is at the crossroads of international developments, and even the United States is no exception. In fact, the United States is greatly concerned over the world situation, because American statesmen, like others, cannot clearly foresee whether Germany or Great Britain will emerge victorious from the present conflict. The affairs of the world should not, of course, be determined merely by calculation of victory and defeat from a purely utilitarian standpoint, for, in the final analysis, it is necessary to follow the path of righteousness. What attitude then should the United States maintain towards Germany on the one hand and towards Great Britain on the other? That the United States is predetermined to be friendly towards Britain and antagonistic towards Germany because of ideological viewpoints is by no means a fact. Writing in *Current History* of January, Mr. Vincent Sheean notes: "Conversely, a pause in the present war—an armistice or truce, for peace seems altogether out of the question—might bring exactly the result the German military theorists and some of the Russians have had in mind for years: a full, true alliance between Germany and Russia, whereby the natural resources of the latter would be at the disposal of the technical and organizing genius of the Germans. In that case the war would be resumed on terms so desperately unfavourable to the two Western Powers that nothing except a full-powered intervention of the United States of America could save them from conquest and dismem-

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berment." It is not for the sake of ideology alone as Mr. Sheean seems to admit, that the United States is taking the attitude it does. The questions of liberalism and democracy are admittedly involved in the American stand, but, if indeed the primary question at issue is one of liberalism and democracy, statesmen and people in the United States would never light-heartedly support Britain and France, because neither liberalism nor democracy in their true sense are actually realized on the stage of world affairs today. Due to some development of liberalism and democracy in its own territory, the United States has fallen into an hallucination and considers itself realizing, or at least exerting its efforts for realizing, liberalism and democracy in international relations.

In order to realize liberalism and democracy among nations, such statesmen of the United States as President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull and Mr. Welles should, together with the entire American people, fully appreciate the vital importance of historical, social and logical circumstances which render necessary the participation of such countries as Germany, Italy and Japan in all important schemes of things affecting the world situation.

Aside from the problems referred to, there is also the question as to whether Germany will indeed be defeated if the United States participates in the war on the Allied side. The answer is not simple, for the question is dependent upon the nature of a world policy which Germany is to adopt hereafter. Germany's world policy cannot, of course, be determined by German will alone. There are such factors as Russia and Italy which must logically come into Germany's consideration of its policy. Such being the circumstances, it is necessary for the United States to incorporate a definite world plan in its own national policy. Then and only then, will that nation be able to play effectively the rôle of mediator or arbitrator. And if one were to ask what would be the guiding principle in such mediation or arbitration, the answer would be expressed simply in terms of the internationalization of liberalism and democracy.

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A NEW TREND IN THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL MOVEMENT OF JAPAN

By Michiji Ishikawa, Tokyo.

I. Basic Character of the New Trend in Japan's Cultural Movement

The general trend of the cultural movement of contemporary Japan is not determined solely by the process of the present war. It does not merely respond to the abnormal pressure of the war, but finds its dynamic motivation in the calm self-examination and introspection of the Japanese people. The continuation of abnormal conditions in the international field of politics and economics, from which it is impossible for this nation to hold itself aloof, has only accelerated the pace of this movement, while precipitating, in addition, the appearance of a new tendency in its progress. In short, it would not be amiss to trace its original cause to the long-felt urge for national self-realizaton of the Japanese people.

We may count three causes that have lent significant momentum to the self-realization movement of the nation. First, the Great European War focussed our attention on the fundamental weakness and ephemeral chracter of Western civilization, which had been regarded as infallible. Then came the Manchurian Incident with its alarm to the nation to gird up its loins to preserve its national existence. And the current Sino-Japanese conflict has set the self-realizing tendency in full swing.

The underlying principle of the national self-realization movement can be hardly interpreted in the light of any ideology of Western origin. Its Weltanschauung is "Sai-sei-itchi" ("the absolute oneness of the political and the religious") in classical terminology, and "Hojinism" ("the absolute oneness of Land and Man"), as advocated by Mr. Gaku Matsumoto, is its modern interpretation. It upholds the traditional "familyism", which has survived the feudalistic conventionalism of the past and the capitalistic individualism of the present, blending the "volitional" and the "rational" into a sacrificial "family-sentiment" which considers both the individual and the whole as one indivisible unity. The greatest noteworthiness of Japanese familyism consists in its

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ability to transform the synthetic family-sentiment into any social form such as family, nation world, etc., without degenerating into a kind of narrow-mindedness. Familyism shows itself to possess the qualifications necessary to respond to the fundamental needs of the nations of the world. We find the noble sublimation of this principle into "World Familyism," referred to as such in his edict by Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor, when he founded the Japanese Empire 2598 years ago. The Emperor, moreover, adopted it as the fundamental ideal of the foundation of the Japanese Empire, as well as its *raison d'etre*. This principle indeed holds out, not only for Japan but for the entire world, a promise of an era of new internationalism based upon the most predominant and universal sentiment.

The new movement, therefore, is moving most conspicuously in the direction of natural synthesis, avoiding and overcoming, as it proceeds, all artificial and coercive tendencies. Naturally by virtue of its synthetic nature the new movement aims at the unification of the partial and the whole, the individual and the national, the national and the international, the spiritual and the material, the civil and the military, the rural and the urban, the classical and the modern, the Oriental and the Occidental, etc.

II. The National Spiritual Mobilization Movement

The new movement, of which "world-familyism" is, as we have seen, the basic principle, and which is moving in the direction of synthesis, comes to the surface in a form which can be described as follows.

On the one hand we find an extensive and laborious search after things genuinely Japanese, while on the other, there is noticeable a general tendency to criticize from various angles the hitherto imported foreign culture. And when these two tendencies are correlated, we have what is called the "national self-awakening movement." In other words, the present national self-awakening movement is a process of conscious unification and rationalization of two cultural elements, namely the genuine national culture, and the imported foreign culture. In practice what I have called the genuine national culture of this country is so marvellously amalgamated and blended with various cultures of foreign origin that to distinguish the latter in Japan's national life is almost impossible. In this connection it is well to remember that even

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as the Chinese and the Indian cultures, which form the blood and flesh of Japanese culture proper, cannot be separated from Japan's national life, so the contemporary Occidental culture too cannot be separated from the "genuine national culture of Japan." But although Occidental culture has now been completely fused into the national life of Japan, yet, in order not to lose perspective, and to maintain the vitality of the genuine national culture of this country, a pressing need is being felt to distinguish, at least in theory, between Occidental culture and Japan's genuine national culture.

In Japan it is true that individualism and liberalism are considered to be incompatible with her national spirit. But this only means that she is reluctant to regard them as the alpha and omega of human life to the exclusion of the welfare and integration of the whole. This does not warrant, however, the charge that the Japanese are temperamentally and ideologically opposed to all forms of individual initiative. "Familyism", as it is understood as a national principle, in Japan, implies only voluntary co-operation between the individual and the State. Therefore, the leaders of the national self-awakening movement in Japan are emphatic in their assertion that the sound development of intrinsic national value depends upon the free and voluntary co-operation of all individuals.

The cause of Japan's sympathetic friendship with Italy and Germany, which seems to be very much misunderstood abroad, whether deliberately or otherwise, does not, according to these leaders, lie in her fear of Russia. In their opinion it is not the military might of Russia which is to be dreaded and guarded against. It is Bolshevik culture with its banners of anti-spiritualism and materialism and its foundation in class-antagonism and anti-nationalism, that is her avowed enemy. And since Italy and Germany also happen to be guided by the same principle of steady opposition to Bolshevik culture, Japan naturally entered into close co-operation with them. In doing so, however, the Japanese Government was not motivated by a kind of a spiritual romanticism to the neglect of the promotion of the actual material welfare of the Japanese masses.

The National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, which is making great headway right now, came into existence under Government guidance in October 1937, owing partly to the present war-pressure and partly to the long-felt urge for national self-realization, with national synthesis as its guiding principle. It should not, however, be mistaken

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for anything like a religious movement, although it is one of the strongest and most widely spread movements that have gripped Japan since the Great Earthquake of 1923. The Government has been only partly responsible for its initiation. In its origin it was the spontaneous manifestation of the urge for national self-realization, which had been growing at the back of the Japanese people's minds; and the Government's services have been only to give that urge a relief commensurate with its propensities. Even then this was a great success for the Government, for without having to exercise coercion it was able to show the need of its guidance through direct contact with a large number of cultural groups and organizations. The mobilized national spirit of contemporary Japan stands out most significantly in two things, the one being its lack of anti-foreignism, the other being its inclination to become international. Even Japan's sudden reversion of 180° from her former pre-occupation with the absorption of things Western to her present deep interest in the study of things Oriental, is also due to her radically increased sense of responsibility, mutual inter-dependence and mutual self-respect in the international world. Since the Manchurian Incident, the Japanese have been doing their best to create mutual understanding between themselves and their Chinese neighbours.

One of the direct and important results of the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement has been the sudden fusion of all conflicting parties and organizations whose activities, until quite recently, checked, to a certain extent, the progress of Japan's national life. Expressions of this are not few. For instance in the rural areas the "go-nin-gumi", communal units composed of five neighbouring families, and which existed in the feudal age, have again sprung into existence in a new form and are meeting with success in co-ordinating the agrarian life of Japan. National industry, commerce and politics are also leading a more co-ordinated existence. In short, under the guidance of this Spiritual Mobilization Movement the entire Japanese nation is becoming united and co-ordinated.

In this connection the Japanese Government must be accorded high praise in that it has succeeded in guiding the nation to its present high cultural level without feeling the need to resort to sensation-making propaganda, or to fill the people with a spirit of anti-foreignism. It has accomplished its task wonderfully, without becoming hemmed in between the alternative choice of force or surrender. The cause of its success depends upon the free and voluntary co-operation of the people, this being the key to the entire psychic system of the Japanese

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nation. "Family-sentiment" is the most vital nerve-centre in the psychic constitution of Japan, and the Government exerted itself to release it, the result being the free and voluntary co-operation between the Government and the people.

III. Conclusion

Let us now see the way in which the new synthetic trend is making itself manifest in each field of Japanese culture. In the first place, there is noticeable a tendency to revert to the "classic" culture. The underlying motive of this is not "classicism", nor yet, by any means, iconoclasm. People are going back to the classics so that whatever is essential in Japanese culture proper may be better comprehended, preserved and reinterpreted in the light of the needs and wants of contemporary and future Japan. *Koten Shingan Undo* or "Movement for the Reinterpretation of the Classics in a New Light," proposed by Mr. Gaku Matsumoto is an illustration of this new tendency of contemporary Japan.

The general movement is making progress along three directions at present. First, there is the tendency to find out the essential truth in the conventional and traditional culture of Japan, and then to purge it of its ephemeral attachments to the purposes it was once meant to fill. The adoption of the methods of natural science is contributing greatly to the achievement of the goal in view. Secondly, there is a tendency advocating the subjection of all modern civilization—which Japan has been so far absorbing indiscriminately—to an impartial test in the light of the truth immanent in the traditional national culture. And thirdly, there is a tendency in favour of synthesizing the essential features of modern civilization with the revitalized and reinterpreted truth contained in the classical Japanese culture. In a word, the whole cultural movement of contemporary Japan is playing the role of a melting pot, wherein are fused the classic and the modern, the Oriental and the Occidental, the scientific and the religious, the material and the spiritual, etc.

This fact is clearly revealed in the field of the cultural sciences, wherein through the co-operative efforts of the Government and various academic groups all possibilities are being explored for the establishment of "New Japanese Sciences." The outstanding characteristic of these "New Japanese Sciences" lies in their departure from the stress hitherto placed upon the welfare of the "individual" as the basic aim, and favour in its stead primarily the welfare of the "nation."

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In the field of sports this movement is clearly being seen. Until lately Japan was content to import Western athletic method as, for instance, Swedish Drill, or the Danish Method, etc. Now she has begun to subject all these foreign athletic methods to proper examination with a view to amalgamating the essential features of each of them, thus tending to create a unique athletic method, which would be the most applicable to the physique of the modern Japanese, conditioned as that physique is by the special environment obtaining in Japan. And she is meeting with success along this line, as the outstanding achievements of the Japanese athletes participating in the various Olympic tournaments show. The key to the understanding of these achievements lies in the fact that the methods employed by Japanese coaches are based upon their marvellous combination of Western ways and their knowledge of the special Japanese characteristics, both physical and psychological. The most important point about the modern athletic movements of Japan is their trend to depart from the "championship" system and their inclination to support the idea of "mass physical training," this being in other words the replacement of the "record-breaking" tendency with that of promoting national health in general.

After the Meiji Restoration there were introduced various kinds of Western sports. After a time, however, there was detected in them a lack of qualities tending to cultivate the spiritual virtues : as a result of this, general encouragement is now offered to the preservation and development of the national martial arts such as jūdo (Jiu-jitsu), kendo (Japanese fencing), etc. This is one of the conspicuous features of the sports movement in Japan. The speciality of the Japanese martial arts is in the twofold stress upon cultivating spiritual power through proper exercise and manipulation of the body and upon making spiritual reality guide and regulate the use of physical energy. In order to maintain and promote this speciality of Japanese martial arts and in order also to popularize them an organization called the "Nippon Ko-Budo Shinko Kai", or "Association for the Promotion of Japanese Classical Martial Arts", has recently come into existence and is doing good work along its chosen lines. The organization mainly emphasizes the inculcation of a spirit of balancing the physical energies and spiritual virtues, instead of mere victory in the combat, and thus culminates in beautiful forms of martial arts.

Entering the field of music also we see that the two sections in which the Japanese nation was hitherto divided, namely the one favouring

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Western music and the other preferring the national classical music, are now showing increasing signs of some day being able to meet on a common ground. While the national classical music, in the past, was for the most part the legacy of mere conventionalists of a comparatively low degree of education it is now being appreciated also by the modern generation, among whom not a few individuals of a high degree of education are actually taking pains to modify it so as to make it fit in with the march of times. It is also significant that of late the group which was known for its over-appreciation of Western music has now taken it upon itself to feel the special need of developing Japanese themes and motives for Western music.

The field of journalism also is not free from the influence of this new synthetic tendency. Besides translations from Western literature, which is a popular vogue even at present, the study and creation of Oriental fiction are being ardently promoted. This apparently marks the beginning of a new era in Japanese journalism and literature.

In the field of religion, the new tendency makes itself vividly manifest in connection with Christianity. The days of foreign missionary groups managing and controlling Christian movements in Japan seem to be nearing their end, as can be seen from the recent movements for the secession of the Japanese branch of the Anglican Church and of the Salvation Army from their respective parent organizations. The motive underlying the inception of this secession movement transcends, as a matter of fact, mere political and economic expediencies. Not that there are no political or economic implications in the movement, but it would be a mistake to overlook the fact that its principal aim is to grasp the essential truth in the Christian Faith and to assimilate it into the spiritual constitution of the Japanese nation.

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WORLD OF BOOKS

Srimad Bhagavad Gita *(Kashmir Recension)* Edited by V. G. Apte and Revised by Srinivasa Narayana Tarptrikara. Published by the Ananda Ashrama Sanskrit Series, No. 112, Poona (1939). Price Rs. 3/- only.

There are thousands of editions of the famous Hindu scripture, Bhagavad Gita and still we welcome this valuable contribution because it embodies the Sarvatobhadra Commentary according to the Kashmirean text. It was critically edited by Prof. Schrader of the German University of Kiel. The manuscript was written on barch leaves in Sarada character and we are thankful to the learned editor as well as to the publisher for giving us this valuable text and commentary which we recommend to all lovers of Indian philosophy. The typography of the book is excellent and quite in keeping with the high traditions of the publishers of the Ananda Ashrama Series.

Hindu Law and Custom by Prof. Julius Jolly. Authorised translation by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh. Published by the Greater India Society, Calcutta. PP. viii+341 with the Sanskrit Index. Price Rs. 10/8/- (Indian). Sh. 21/- (Foreign).

This valuable treatise on Hindu Law was published in 1896 in the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research under its original German title *Recht und Sitte.* Prof. Jolly was invited to lecture on the subject in India as the Tagore Law Lecturer to the Calcutta University for 1883. When the Greater India Society offered to publish the first English translation of this valuable book the venerable old Professor generously revised the present edition which, therefore, may be called the Authorised translation. Dr. Jolly was pleased to observe in his foreword: "The translator has spared no pains to make his translation as accurate as possible."

Of all the books on the history of Hindu Law, this is undoubtedly the most reliable and exhaustive. Discussing the sources in the preliminary chapters, the author proceeds to the analysis of (a) the Family Law and the Law of Inheritance (b) Law of Property and Contract (c) Crime, Penance and Punishment (d) Judicial Procedure (e) Customs & Usages. We recommend the book not only to those

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who study law from the professional standpoint but also to those who are interested in the social history of the ancient Hindus and their contribution to Sociology and Ethics. The book is available at the office of the Greater India Society, 21, Badurbagan Row, Calcutta.

India and Java by Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti. Published by the Greater India Society, 21, Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta.

The second edition of this valuable bulletin has been thoroughly revised and enlarged by the incorporation of a special section dealing with the select Sanskrit inscriptions from Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo and Java. The bulk of the epigraphs are from Java and the text of the inscriptions are printed in Devanagri character with suitable historical introductions, notes and readings. The English translation following the text would enable the general readers to appreciate the value of these Sanskrit documents from the far off Hindu colonies of Indonesia. We recommend the book to the libraries of our Colleges and Universities.

Round the World by J. N. Sinha, Forest Officer, Dhalbhum, Ghatsila, with a Foreword by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. PP. 289 with 25 plates. Price Rs. 3/- only.

The author, as explained by Dr. Sinha in his Foreword, is an officer in the Forest Service of the Bihar Government which permitted him to go abroad for a year on ordinary leave. He worked for a while at the Imperial Institute of Forestry, Oxford, and also visited several centres of Sylviculture, not foregetting Finland and the Baltic States close to Norway and Sweden. On his return voyage he passed through Canada, the United States of America and Japan. Almost half the book is devoted to his return journey through U. S. A. and Japan and we feel here at every step how he has benefitted by his stay, however short, in Europe. The U. S. A. professes to be a model Republic where democratic ideals may find their last refuge. And yet this cultured Indian traveller felt how the Americans are victims of colour prejudices which contradict all their pretentions of democracy. The strength and weakness of the society of the European countries have also been clearly analysed by the author and when he reaches Japan we find him quite enthusiastic to find this oriental nation harmonizing as it were, the Old and the New, the Orient and the

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Occeident in its vigorous national life. The author has produced a book which is eminently readable and informing. Moreover, we get everywhere the personal touch and individual reactions which, we are sure, will prove helpful to his fellow-travellers as well as to future aspirants in globe-trotting from India. The book is beautifully printed and richly illustrated by the photographs taken by the author himself. We recommend the book to our colleges and public libraries.

L'Etang Aux Lotus by Savitri Devi. Published by the Author from 220, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta and Printed in the Katha Press, 14, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

A cultured daughter of historic Greece that she is, Savitri Devi adopted not only an Indian name but the Indian soul. The soulful book in French under review was composed in 1936 and although it was published three years after she felt that she had very little to add or alter. First impression like first love can rarely be changed to our advantage, for the spark of the Eternal and the Changeless hovers over our primordial passions. Savitri Devi's love of India is of that elemental character and hence she did not hesitate to affirm that the "Eternal India was the creation of historical India" and that the test of Indian universalism would be the "transformation of enslaved India into a free and vigorous nation". The elegant and incisive French in which she expresses her impressions testify to her high literary accomplishments as well as to her originality of thought. At every page we feel that she is seeing India and not merely compiling facts relating to India. She is not oblivious of the existence of non-Hindus like the Parsis, the Indian Christians and the Indian Musalmans but she sounded the key note of her improvisation through the characteristic phrase : "The only real India is Hindu India." While visiting Peshawar she appreciated the martial qualities of the Afridi and other Frontier tribes and enquired whether those military virtues could be woven into the texture of the refined sensibilities of Hindu culture. Visiting the sacred city of Mathura she was reminded of the untranslatable smile of the eternal South extending from the Ægian Isles to the Pacific Islands. With a significant brevity she summarises her thesis : "Europe is only powerful ; India is beautiful". Thanks to this revelation and to this conviction, Savitri Devi could discern beauty even in the heart of the dirt, the degradation and chaos of present day India. We are thankful to her for her profound and sincere sympathy and recommend this inspiring book to all lovers of Indian culture.

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A Warning to the Hindus by Savitri Devi. Published by the Hindu Mission, 32B, Harris Chatterji Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1/4/-.

Loving India with a primordial passion Savitri Devi could not stop at mere theorising or poetising on India. She plunged herself heart and soul in helping to reconstruct the ruined fabrics of Hindu society. She felt that like the highly refined Paganism of ancient Greece, Hinduism also is threatend by aggressive enemies strangling her slowly from day to day : "Whether caste-ridden or sect-ridden or compartmented in any other way, never and nowhere in history has a divided society stood competition with an undivided one." Hence her noble crusade against unhealthy schisms in Hindu society, with a vew to glorifying India above all sects. Her noble services to the cause of Hindu Renaissance has been so much apprecated that no less a personality than Sri G. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, has recommended the book which would put the Hindus "on the right turn of national thinking." Half the book is devoted to the elucidation of the human value of Hinduism and another half to the plan of the defence of the Hindudom. Entire Hindu India will be grateful to her for this clarion call to self-purification and final emancipation.

Hindus and Musalmans of India by Atulananda Chakravarti. Published by Thacker Spink and Co. Price Rs. 2/8/-.

The author is an ardent champion of cultural unity in India and he has earned golden opinions of eminent thinkers like Dr. Tagore, Prof. Radhakrishnan and others. In this new volume he discusses Hindu-Muslim relations with such a breadth of cultural outlook and spiritual synthesis that Mahatma Gandhi has blessed the book in a special article published in the "Harijan". India is the common mother-land of both the Hindus and the Muslims and thinkers from both the groups should come forward to build a stable platform of national reconstruction from whtch not only India but the whole world will benefit. We congratulate the author on this valuable production and recommend it strongly to all the schools, colleges and libraries of India.

Co-ordination of Transport, League of Nations. Ser. L. o. N. P. 1939. VIII. 5. pages. 57 2/6 $0.60.

The League of Nations has just published an interesting addendum to the volume recently issued under the title "Co-ordination of Transport".

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It contains a highly instructive summary of the particulars supplied by Governments of the ways in which they were proposing or endeavouring to solve a problem which since the rather haphazard development of the motor industry and of road transport had almost everywhere become acute.

The two companion volumes contain an account of the evolution of this vast problem up to the outbreak of the present war.

The interest of this publication is due both to the data it contains and to the fact that it covers forty countries all over the world and so gives a truly international survey of the situation.

The material, which is systematically tabulated, shows the steps taken by the various countries for the co-ordination of the three principal means of transport—railways, roads and inland navigation—with particular reference to the following subjects : the administrative regime of the three means of transport (authorisations, licences or concessions, the obligation to transport, transport monopolies, etc.); the fixing, supervision and publication of tariffs; the fiscal regime (ordinary taxes, special taxes on transport undertakings); the social regime and labour legislation; the action of the public authorities with a view to the rational co-ordination of transport and to promote agreement between the various means of transport; difference of treatment (of any) as between national and foreign means of transport, etc. etc.

It will thus be seen that the League survey is a particularly full and well documented study of what is undoubtedly one of the most important problems of modern transport organisation.

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Evolution of the Egyptian Constitution

By **Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh**, M.A., B.L.

The valley of the Blue Nile has ever been the realm of never-ending political vicissitudes. When Napoleon was asked in St. Helena, what was the most important country in the world, he replied with his characteristic swiftness that it was Egypt. Whoever conquers Egypt conquers the Old World. Once the Pharohs ruled over it and ruled the Mediterranean. Then came the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans and the Arabs, who were in their turns, the conquerors of the world. In 639 A.D. an army under Amr-Ibu-el-Ars, sent by the second Caliph Omar I, overran Egypt. From that year to 1517 when Egypt was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, the political power gradually passed into the hands of the Mamelukes, who were originally white slaves. As Young says "this institution of what was at first a servile militia, then a military caste, and finally a ruling class, was introduced by the Saracens, when at the height of their power under Saladin, and was afterwards imitated by the Turks in their Jannissaries." [Young—*Egypt, Modern World Series*—pp. 23-24]. With the Turks under Suleiman the Magnificient, Egypt was governed by a Pasha, who was assisted by two Chambers (Divans) in which the Army and the Divines had representation. The country, which became an Ottoman province, was divided into twelve Sandjaks each under a Mameluke Amir. In 1770 A.D., Egypt had a short-lived independence under Ali, a Mameluke Bey, who had revolted against the Sultan of Turkey and driven out the Pasha. But this independence vanished in 1773. In 1798, the land was occupied by the French forces under Napoleon to whom, according to Talleyrand, "L'expedition assure la destruction de la Puissance Britannique dans l'Inde." The two Divans were revived by a proclamation of December 25, 1798, while in the middle of the next year, Egypt was declared a French Protectorate. By August 1801, the French had to wind up their colonial career in Egypt, while a bitter struggle ensued between the Mamelukes and the Turks, which came to an end in 1805, by the appointment of Mehmet Ali, Commander of the Albanian regiment in Egypt, as the Pasha, by the Firman of the Sultan. Mehmet Ali ruled Egypt with an iron hand for forty three years, crushing the Mamelukes, nationalising all lands, trade

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and industry. Sudan was conquered and Khartoum was founded in 1820. The Sultan, with the help of the European Powers tried to keep the Pasha within proper limits, and by a Firman, dated February 13, 1841, he made the Pashalic of Egypt hereditary in the family of Mehmet Ali. The two Pasha who ruled Egypt from 1848 to 1854, were unimportant persons, but from July 1854 to 1863 (Jan.), Sayed Pasha did a lot of things which determined the fate of Egypt for ever. In 1856 he gave Ferdinand de Lesseps the concession for the construction of the Suez Canal and to the British the right of establishing the Bank of Egypt and the Eastern Telegraph Company. He and his successor, Ismail Pasha, recklessly went on borrowing loans in foreign markets, and giving various anti-national concessions to Foreign Powers. Ismail, sold 176,602 Suez Canal shares for £ 3,976,582 to the British Government, in 1875, for meeting his debts, while within a very short time foreign Powers established various controlling institutions in the country for the purpose of safeguarding their financial interests. Besides these, they also enjoyed certain capitulatory rights granted by the Sultan of Turkey.

Government of Egypt up to 1882

The Government of Egypt was an autonomous autocracy. By the Firman of 1866, Ismail Pasha got the title of the Khedive of Egypt. By the same Firman the Khedive was not to increase his army to more than 30,000 men, and was bound to pay to the Sultan an annual tribute of £ 675,000. By another Firman of 1872, all military restrictions were removed, and the Khedive was given "every substantial attribute of sovereignty, except only the *jus legationis.*" Externally, the Khedive was under the suzerainty of the Sultan. As an authority remarked: "Le vice-roi recoit à son avènement, l'investiture du Sultan ; il paye à la Porte un tribut annual ; il perçoit les impôts et rend la justice au nom du Sultan ; il a le droit de battre monnaie, mais seulement à l'effigie du Sultan ; enfin la nom de l'Empereur des Ottomans, et c'est lá dans tous les Etats musulmans ce qui constitue la souveraineté supreme." In internal matters the Khedive could say, "L'Etat c'est moi". By the firmans of 1841 and 1866, the throne was made heriditable by the eldest male descendant in the family of Ismail. The Khedive looked after and controlled every important affair of the state. His sovereignty was personal. The Great Council, set up by Mahomet Ali, and composed of the "dignitaires et de princes de la famille vice-royale, et qui reunissait les attributions d'un conseil d'Etat et d'une cour de cassation."

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like the Turkish Divan, was suppressed by Sayed Pasha in 1860. In its place was set up a Privy Council composed of the ministers, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and three other notable functionaries of the state who accompanied the Khedive. Its function was simply to examine and report to the Khedive on the work of the several departments. There were in Sayed's time only three ministers, that is, of Foreign Affairs, War and Finance, but Ismail increased their number to eight, the five additional ministers being (1) Interior, (2) Marine, (3) Commerce, (4) Public Works and Agriculture and (5) Public Instruction. Beside these, there were two sub-departments of Customs and Post Office.

Before we proceed to further constitutional developments in Egypt it is necessary that we should know something of the various foreign institutions and rights which henceforth began to restrict the freedom of action of the Khedive. All of them were due to the borrowings of Ismail. In 1876 he issued a decree repudiating his personal debts of eleven million sterling, apart from a floating debt of the country amounting to 26 million sterling. This repudiation was set aside by the International Courts "which had replaced some of the former consular jurisdictions" in Egypt [See—E. Sanderson, *Great Britain in Modern Africa* (1907), p. 277]. Great Britain and France intervened with the result that a dual control was set up to secure the interests of the European bond-holders. An English official began to superintend the revenue of Egypt, while a French official the expenditure of the country In quick successions four institutions were established with the same end in view, viz, (1) The Commission of Public Debt, controlled by six Commissioners, all of different nationalities, setting limits to administrative expenditure of Egypt under the Law of Liquidation, promulgated by the Khedive, after having received the sanction of the six great Powers (See A. Milner—*England in Egypt*—p. 52). (2) The Railway Board—controlled by three members of different nationalities. The railways were internationalised, and their revenues charged to the payment of the debts. (3) The Daira Administration—i. e., of the vast estates of the Khedive, on which he had borrowed large sums. This was managed by a Board of Directors consisting of an European Director-General and two foreign Controllers representing the bond-holders. (4) The Domain Administration—it dealt with the properties given up by Ismail under European pressure in 1878 and on which a loan of £ 8,500,000 was negotiated. (See E. W. Polson-Newman—*Great Britain in Egypt*, (1928), p. 129). Over and above these, there was the "Caisse de la Dette", another *imperium in imperio,* constituted by a Khedival Decree of May 2, 1876, consisting originally of a Franch-

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man, an Austrian and an Italian ; but subsequently an Englishman was added in 1877, a German and a Russian in 1885. Its original power was only to receive certain revenues especially assigned to the service of Foreign Debts, but later on it extended its power "over the execution of the Complicated series of agreements—decrees, conventions, declarations, portocols—which constitute in their totality the international compact regulating the finances in Egypt" [A. Milner—*Ibid*—p. 53]. The Commissioners of the Caisse were technically Egyptian officers, appointed by the Khedive ; but in reality they were the creatures of the Consul-Generals of various powers in Egypt. The Commission, had also some legislative power within its defined jurisdiction.

Apart from these financial institutions, there were in Egypt what are known as the Capitulations, i.e., special rights acquired by the foreign Powers for their nationals under various treaties with the Sultan, e.g. special commercial privileges, immunity from personal taxation without the consent of their governments, inviolability of domicile, protection from arbitrary arrest and exmeption from the jurisdiction of the native courts. The Foreign States which possessed such capitulatory rights in Egypt were : France, Italy, England, Germany, Austria, Russia, Holland, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Portugal, Greece, United States, and Brazil. The abuse of these capitulatory rights was extensive. Even the impartiality of the Foreign judges in the Mixed Tribunals and the Consular Courts was not unimpeachable. [For further details, see—Milner—Ibid—Chap. IV, pp. 38-62. See also—*Parliamentary Papers* Vol. C, 1907, Cmd. 3394, p 637].

In 1878 Ismail Pasha thought it prudent to yield to the pressure of the Foreign Powers in Egypt for a constitutional government with ministerial responsibility. To him, that was the only way for escaping from the Dual Control. For that purpose he issued a Rescript in August 28, 1878 in which he wrote : "Dorénavant, je veux gouverner avec et par mon Conseil de Ministeres . Les membres du Conseil de Ministres devront être tous solidaires les uns des autres ; ce point est essentiel." In a letter addressed to Sir Rivers Wilson on August 23, 1878, he had expressed the same idea : "J'ai charge Nubar Pasha de me former un Ministere. Cette innovation peut paraitre de peu d'importance ; mais de cette innovation, serieusement conçue, vous verrez sortir l'independence ministerielle, et ce n'est pas peu ; car cette innovation est le point de départ d'un changement de Systeme" [Quoted in *Modern Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 62,—by Earl of Cromer]. In the Rescript of August 28, 1878, the Khedive promised to be bound

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by the decisions of the majority of his Cabinet. The chief officials of the state were to be named by the Khedive acting on the advice of his Council of Ministers. In the first Egyptian Ministry under this Rescript, Nubar Pasha was Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Justice; Riaz Pasha of the Interior; Sir Rivers Wilson of the Finance; M. de Bligniers of Public Works. This Rescript was called by Cromer the Magna Charta of Egypt. But it was soon violated by Ismail. Since 1867, Ismail had convoked the Assembly of the Notables, only once in a year. This body was constituted of village Sheikhs elected by the Communes. It merely received and discussed the annual administration report submitted to it by the Privy Council. Its power was simply debatory. Thus Ismail was opposed not only to ministerial responsibility but also to a popular and powerful Assembly while his lavish expenditures threatened Egyptian finances. Under these circumstances Great Britain and France requested the Sultan to intervene, as a result whereof, Ismail was deposed and his son Tewfik Pasha was appointed Khedive by the Sultan, on June 26, 1879. The Dual Control was again revived under a Decree of the Khedive Tewfik dated November 15, 1879. Article 1 of the Decree said: "The Controllers-General shall have in financial matters the most complete powers of investigation into all the public services including those whose receipts have a special destination by virtue of decrees and contracts. *Ministers and functionaries of every rank shall be bound* to give every information and to furnish every document required by the Controllers and their agents". These Controllers had full control over the public services, they had the *rank of ministers* at the Council, a seat and a consultative voice as well (Art. 4). They were removable only with the consent of their respective Governments (Art. 6). [For the Text of the Decree, See—Blanchard Jerrold—*The Belgium of the East*, (1882)—pp. 64-66]. Some writers regard the establishment of this Dual Control as "the commencement of administrative regeneration of Egypt" (c.f. Milner—*Ibid*—p. 22), while others regard it as the illegal interference of Anglo-French money-lenders and stock exchanges into the political affairs of another country [See—Jerrold—*Ibid*—p. 44].

In August 1879 Tewfik Pasha charged Sherif Pasha with the formation of a Ministry, but when the latter proposed a constitution, the Khedive disapproved of it, and established a personal Government, retaining for himself the presidency of the Council of Ministers. The British and the French governmets also supported Tewfik in his opposition to parliamentary government. Lord Cromer writes: "There can be little

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doubt that the Khedive acted wisely in declining the proposals submitted to him by Sherif Pasha. Any Egyptian constitution must of necessity, at that time, have been a mere *decor de theatre.*" [See—Cromer—*Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 151-152]. The only form of government that Cromer could regard suitable for Egypt was benevolent despotism. But the desire of the people for constitutional government was genuine and every day national agitation was acquiring larger and larger dimensions. A party, known as the "National Party" came into existence in 1875. The Minister of War, Mahmud Barody, supported it; in the army it was represented by Ahmed Araby, in the Azhar by the Sheikhs. A writer in the Pall Mall Gazette, December 20, 1881, remarked that the Party "have for their motto not Islam for the Mussalmans, but Egypt for the Egyptians. This is primarily a national and not a religious movement." The same writer says : "I may say with absolute certainity, that all the leading men, the Sheikhs, the mudirs (if not Turks), the various muffetishes—in fact, all the people who influence the masses—are warm supporters of the National Party" [Quoted in *The Belgium of the East,*—Ibid—p. 122]. In his letter to the Times, dated March 16, 1882, Sir W. H. Gregory, after exhorting the British people to support Egyptian nationalism and demand for parlimentary Government, said : "I believe the leader Arabi Bey to be honest and patriotic ; I believe the objects of the party at present to be honest and patriotic."

On 26th December, 1881, the Assembly of Notables, was summoned under Ismail Pasha's Law of 1866, and early in 1882, Sherif Pasha and the Council of Ministers presented to it a project for the constitution of an Egyptian Parliament. This is a very important and rare document, and I propose to give here a summary of it. This draft constitution contained 52 Articles, of which the first and the second declared that all the delegates are to be elected for a term of 5 years. Arts. 3-6 guaranteed the freedom of discussion and inviolability of the persons of the delegates. The Chamber was to be convoked by the Khedive annually, "after the Council of Ministers has consented to its convocation" (Art. 7). The ordinary sittings of the Chamber was to last 3 months, from 1st November to 31st January, and in case of need, a further period of one month might be added. Art. 9 provided for extraordinary session. The Khedive was to nominate the President of the Chamber for 5 years from amongst three members chosen by the Chamber, the two Vice-Presidents being elected by the Chamber from amongst its members. (Arts. 14-15). The Ministers were to have the right to participate in debates, and were bound

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to answer questions of the House (Art. 19-20). Art. 21 says : "Members are jointly and severally responsible to the Chamber for every measure taken by them in Council violating existing laws and regulations," while Art. 22 added that "every minister is individually responsible for such acts done in the exercise of his duty, and within the provisions of the preceding Article." In case of a continuance of disagreement between the Ministry and the Chamber, if the Ministry, after an interchange of arguments, does not retire, "the Khedive dissolves the Chamber and issues writs for new elections to be completed within three months, commencing from the date of dissolution" (Art. 23), while by Art. 24 "if the new Chamber confirms the vote of the old Chamber, that vote becomes decisive." By Art. 25 the Government reserved to itself all the initiative of legislation. Articles 26-28 proposed a standing legislative Commission. Art. 30 says: "No new tax, direct or indirect, on realty, on presonalty or on persons can be established in Egypt without a law voted by the Chamber." By Arts. 31-37, the Chamber had full rights to discuss and vote the annual budgets, subject only to Art. 34, which says that the Chamber "has no power to discuss, in any case, the service of the tribute due to the Porte, the service of the public debts or any burthen of the State arising out of the debt or out of the Law of Liquidation, or out of the conventions made between Foreign Powers and the Egyptian Government." Art. 38 gave to the Chamber the decisive voice on all contracts, treaties and concessions which involved fresh expenditures. Arts. 39-40 dealt with the rights of petition of the Egyptians. Art. 41 empowered the Government to pass ordinances during the recess of the Chamber, to meet urgencies, but subject to their being presented before the Chamber on its next sitting. Art. 46 fixed the quorum of the House at two-thirds of the members, but "any vote concer ning Ministerial responsibility will require a majority of at least three-fourths of the members present." The Constitution provided a novel way for modifying this Organic Law, viz, "by agreement between the Chamber and the Council of Ministers" (Art. 50).

The Assembly of Notables, led by such patriotic leaders as Arabi Pasha, refused to accept this Constitution, unless it included (1) complete ministerial responsibility to the Chamber, (2) the right of discussing and voting the budget with necessary reservations, and (3) the right of initiative in all legislations, belonging to the Chamber. [For the text of the Constitution See—Jerrold—*Ibid*—pp. 231-240, Appendix VI]. The Khedive and the Council of Ministers were almost readyto concede the demands of the Nationalists, but the British and especially the French Government

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sent a Joint Note, dated 8th January, 1882 in which they said that they "consider the maintenance of His Highness on the throne, on the terms laid down by the Sultan's Firmans, and officially recognised by the two Governments as *alone able* to guarantee for the present and the future, the good order and development of general prosperity in Egypt in which France and Great Britain are equally interested" [For the text of the Joint Note—see—Cromer—*Ibid*—Vol. I, p. 223]. The Porte protested against the Joint Note, for if there was any trouble in Egypt, he was the legal sovereign to whom these matters should be brought for settlement. The British and the French governments had no right to take the law into their own hands. But as the Nationalist agitation continued unabated the Chamber waited upon the Khedive urging him to sign the Organic Law. The two powers sent another Note to the Khedive on 25th May, 1882 in which they demanded (1) The temporary retirement from Egypt of Arabi Pasha, who had recently become the Minister for War, and of two other leading Nationalists, and (2) the resignation of the Ministry of Mahmud Pasha Sami—another nationalist. The man who did Egypt most harm was Gambetta, but with the fall of his ministry in France, the French Government backed out of the Joint Note. On September 13, 1882, Arabi's army was defeated in the battle of Tel-el-Kabir and from that day began the British occupation of Egypt. Before I go on to describe the constitution set up by the British in 1883, I like to dispell the wrong notion current in all English books, about the great Egyptian national leader Arabi Pasha. I have already given some idea as to his fervent nationalism. I like to add here only this that before he was exiled away from his beloved motherland, he wrote a memorandum on Egyptian reform on November 1882 from within the prison bars. In this memorandum he prayed for a nationalist ruler for Egypt, two houses of the legislative, ministerial responsibility "no act of the ruler was to be valid" unless countersigned by the Cabinet or special Minister whom it may concern—abolition of the foreign capitulations, a thorough reform of Egyptian judiciary, national education and dismissial of unnecessary European officials. [For this intersting and revealing document—See Major E. W. Polson Newman—*Great Britain in Egypt,* Appendix I, pp. 283-291].

The Organic Law of 1883

In November 1882 Lord Dufferin was appointed British High Commissioner for Egypt, and he was immediately invested with the task

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of preparing a constitution for this country. He submitted his General Report to Earl Granville on February 14, 1833, in which he wrote the following: "I would press upon Her Majesty's Government a more generous policy—such a policy as is implied by the creation within certain prudent limits, of representative institutions of municipal and communal self-government, and of a political existence untramelled by external importunity, though aided, as it must be for a time, by sympathetic advice and assistance. Indeed no middle course is possible. The valley of the Nile could not be administered with any prospect of success from London" [See—Egypt, No. 6, *Par. Pap.* 1883, Vol. 83, p. 43].

But almost simultaneously with the sending of Lord Dufferin, the British Government anxious to clear up its position in Egypt *vis-a-vis* the Sultan of Turkey made the anouncement that it had no desire to subvert the legal sovereignty of the Porte in Egypt. "It is the wish of Her Majesty's Government to recognise in its full significance the position which is secured to His Majesty the Sultan as Sovereign of Egypt by Treaties and other instruments having a force under international law" [See—*British and Foreign State Papers*, Vol. LXXVII, p. 131].

In accordance with Lord Dufferin's recommendations the Egyptian Organic Law and the Electoral Law were passed and promulgated on May 1, 1883. The former contained 54 articles and the latter 46. The constitution of Egypt was reconstructed on the following basis :

There were provisions for village constituencies, provincial councils, two legislative bodies at the centre, and election by two degrees. In the village constituency every Egyptain, of 20 years of age or more and who had lived in the same village for three years excepting soldiers and those who suffered mental and physical disqualifications, was an elector. (Electoral Law Art. 1-6). Voting by ballot was prescribed ; cumulative voting was introduced on the principle of the English School Board System for the protection of the interest of the Christian minorities. General Commissions were organised for ensuring freedom and purity in elections (E. L. Art. 16). Each village had the right of electing one delegate, who in their turn would elect the Provincial Councillors. The Mudir of each Province would be assisted by Provincial Council composed of 4 to 8 members chosen by the elector-delegates in that Province. The members of the Provincial Councils were to be 30 years or over of age, know reading and writing, pay 5000 *piastres* as tax, and must not be Government servants or military men. The tenure of the Council was 6 years, half of the house being renewable every 3 years. The Mudir had the

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right to convoke and dissolve the Provincial Council, and to exercise considerable influence over its deliberations. The real power of these Councils lay in purely non-political local matters (Art. 2-17, Orgnic Law).

For the Central Government, there was, first, the Legislative Council consisting of 30 members, 14 of whom were nominated by the Khedive for life. Of these 14, the President of the Council was directly nominated by the Khedive, while one of the two Vice-presidents and 12 Councillors were nominated by him on the proposal of the Council of Ministers. All of them were removable by a Decree "issued on the proposal of our Council of Ministers or by virtue of a resolution taken by the Legislative Council" Art. 31. The rest i. e. 16 members, were elected by the Provincial Councils, from amongst the members thereof, their tenure being 6 years. They were re-eligible and served gratuitously. This Council was a smaller body than the other one, and hence more highly organised and active. The nominated element was supported by Lord Dufferin as he thought that it would ensure the co-operation of experienced men and members belonging to non-Muslim communities. The powers of the Council were, however, merely debatory and consultative. It had no power of absolute veto. The service of the Tribute, Public Debt, and generally all changes and obligations resulting from the Law of Liquidation or from International Conventions, were not allowed to be the object of any discussion or even any expression of opinion in the Council (Art. 23). But under Article 18, no law or Decree relative to the Public Administration could be issued without having been previously laid before the Council for its advice. The budget and all money measures, subject to Art. 23, were to be annually placed before the Council. The latter was also empowered to invite the Ministers to submit "projects de loi" on any subject (Art. 19).

The Legislative Council not being a popular body, the General Assembly supplied that need. This House was a bigger body containing 30 Councillors (i. e. members returned by the Provincial Councils), 46 members elected by the village delegates, with a mandate for 6 years, and the ministers, whose number varied from 6 to 8. The President of the Legislative Council was the President of the Assembly. Under Art. 34, "no new tax, whether a direct tax or on land or on personalty can be established in Egypt without having been discussed and voted in the General Assembly." The Assembly had the same liberty of discussion, criticism, and suggestion as the Council. But it had the additional rights

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to be consulted on all matters of general interest, among which public loans, large schemes of canalization or railways, the application of the "Cadastre," the imposition of fresh taxes, etc., were most important. The Assembly must be convoked at least once in two years (Art. 39). The Khedive had the power of summoning, proroguing and dissolving the Legislature.

The Organic Law contained two other articles of great importance, one establishing ministerial responsibility, and the other providing for settlement of constitutional disputes. Art. 52 says : "Aucune Loi, aucun Decret ne sera promulgué, sans avoir eté contresigné par le President du conseil du Ministres et les Ministres Competents", while Art. 52 provided that all questions as to the proper interpretation of an article of the constitution would be finally decided by a Commission composed of two ministers, of whom one will be that of Justice ; two members of the Legislative Council ; and three Judges of the Court of Appeal in Cairo, under the presidency of the Minister of Justice. [For the texts of the Organic and Electoral Laws of May, 1883 see—*Par. Pap.*—Egypt no. 19 (1833).]

The Constitution also provided for a Council of state,whose organisation and functions were to be explained in a subsequent Decree. This institution was borrowed from France. Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer), who became Consul-General of Egypt in January, 1884, regarded it as useless and expensive and "a cover for international interferance in every branch of the Egyptian Government." Hence it was not established [See—Cromer—*Modern Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 273]. The Constitution as a whole was simply a reproduction of Sherif Pasha's project before the British occupation, with, of course, minor alterations. Neither the demand of the Egyptian Chamber of 1881 nor the hopes of Arabi as expressed in his memorandum were fulfilled. The Organic Law, as Lord Dufferin pointed out in his General Report for 1833, did not "really embody the Parliamentary principle in the true acceptation of the term," but as he added, "the arrangements proposed for Egypt are a far more bold and generous move in the direction of self-government than anything the most revolutionary Indian statesman has hitherto dared to suggest for that country" [*Par. Pap.*—Egypt, no. 6 (1883), p. 49].

From 1883 to 1913, this Organic Law continued to be the basis of the Egyptian Government. But it tells us nothing about the powers of the Khedive, the British Consul-General, the European officials or

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the Egyptian Judiciary. Light on these matters is thrown by other sources. The Sultan continued to be the soverign of Egypt.

On Octoder 24, 1885, the position of the Sultan was clarified by an Anglo-Turkish convention. The Sultan recognised the British intervention but not sovereignty in Egypt. Art. 4 of the convention laid down that all proposals initiated by the Khedive or by the British for modification of the administrative system were to be bound "by the limits of the Imperial Firmans." Art. 5 stipulated that "the international engagements contracted by His Highness the Khedive will be approved by the other Government in so far as they shall not be contrary to the privileges granted by Imperial Firmans." Art. 6 provided for the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt, the proper time for such withdrawal to be determined jointly by Turkey and England [For this important convention—see *Brit. and For. St. Papers*—Vol. LXXVI, p. 442-4]. Another Anglo-Turkish convention was really signed, though not ratified, in 1887, by which the Government of Egypt was to be surprised by two Commissioners, one English, another Ottoman, for a period of three years, after which the British military occupation was to come to an end, subject to the condition that Great Britain would reoccupy Egypt if there was in that country any internal or external danger threatening British interests. [See *Brit. and For. St. Pap.* Vol. LXXVIII, 1080, 1096]. Turkey refused to ratify this convention ; and Great Britain refused to evacuate, quite contrary to her earlier declaration of January 3,1883.

Nevertheless the British Government continued to recognise the Sultan as the legal sovereign of Egypt. The powers of the Sultan were restated in the Firman of 1892. All Egyptians were Ottoman subjects; the taxes were levied in the name of the Sultan. The Khedive had no right to make political treaties or to represent Egypt in international conferences ; but he could sign commercial conventions with foreign states. The Khedive could not abandon to a third party any of the territorial rights of the Sultan in Egypt. The Egyptian army was not to exceed a force of 18,000 men. The Ottoman flag was the Egyptian flag. All military ranks above the Colonel could be conferred only by the Sultan. The coinage was to be in the name of the Sultan, while the Khedive was to pay him an annual tribute of £ 682,000.

So far as regards the constitutional position of the Khedive is concerned, he continued to be the chief *de jure* executive of the state, having power of summoning, proroguing and dissolving the Legislature. The ministers were nominally appointed by him, but in reality in accordance with the

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wishes of the British Consul-General. As early as January 3, 1883, Lord Granville, in his despatch to Great Powers, explaining the British position in Egypt, had said: "... the position in which Her Majesty's Government are placed towards His Highness imposes upon them *the duty of giving advice with the object of securing* that the order of things to be established shall be of a satisfactory character, and possess the elements of stability and progress" [See—A. Milner—*Ibid*—p. 26-27]. Hence, with British occupation, personal government of the Khedive vanished. There were seven Departments, viz., Foreign Affairs, Finance, Justice, War, Public Works, Education and the Interior, each with a Minister who was not always an Egyptian. The Post Office, the Customs and the Light Houses were under the Department of Finance, while the Interior included the Sanitary Dept. and the Prisons. There was a separate Director-General for the administration of the Wakf, taking his orders directly from the Khedive. The proceedings of the Council of Ministers were held in Arabic and French. The ministers were assisted by subordinate European officials whose opinion they could not easily ignore. But as Lord Lloyd remarks "the Council of Ministers was the Khedive's advisory council, and the Khedive was the Government fulfilling *de jure* all the functions of Governmental authority" [Lord Lloyd —*Egypt Since Cromer*, Vol. I, p. 17]. Therefore, it is quite clear that real power lay not in the hands of the Khedive or of the ministers, but in the British Consul-General. This concentration of power was absolutely illegal as there was no written law which could support it; rather it was contrary to the Anglo-Turkish conventions of 1885 and 1887 and the open declarations of Lord Granville. Hence, the British Government felt it necessary to strengthen their positions in Egypt, not simply by armed force, but also by international treaties perpetuating their occupation in Egypt. The Anglo-French declaration, which was signed on 8th April 1904, contained the following: "His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they have *no intention of altering the political Status of Egypt.* The Government of the French Republic for their part, declare that they will not obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country by asking that *a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation or in any other manner*". (Art.1). The next article contained similar British obligation with regard to French Morocco, while the last Article (Art. IX) contained the following: "The two Governments agree to afford one another their *diplomatic support* in order to obtain the execution of the clauses of the present Declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco" [See—*Par. Pap.* Vol. 103 of 1905, p. 264-284; Cmd. 2384]. This declaration was subsequently approved by Germany, Italy and Austria.

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Of the European officials in the service of the Khedive something must be said. In the Egyptian Army, the Commander-in-chief and most of the superior officers, whether departmental or regimental, were British. In the civil service, a large number of Europeans were employed with considerable powers and salaries. There was the British Financial Adviser, appointed after the Arabi revolt, and had the power to be present at all the cabinet meetings. He was to advise on all important financial matters, and often guided the ministers on non-financial matters as well. He used to keep the British Consul-General informed of all that was going in the Ministerial circle. There was again the British Judicial Adviser, invested with power to promote the administration of Justice. The posts of the Under-Secretary in the Public Works Department, the Financial Secretary, the Director-General of Post-Office, the Inspector-General of Police (subsequently, the Adviser to the Inspector), were also held by Englishmen. In the Railway Administration, Egyptian had little voice, before 1906.

From 1883 to 1913, Egypt had very few political events. In the Sudan, there was a general rising under Mohammed Ahmed, whom people called the Mahdi, and this resulted in the massacre of the British forces under Genral Gordon in 1885. But the Sudan was re-conquered in 1898 by a combined Egyptian and British force. On January 19, 1899, the Anglo-Egyptian convention was signed, and this established the claim of Great Britain, "by right of conquest" to share with Egypt in the administration of the Sudan. Though both British and Egyptian flags were to fly on Sudanese territory, yet the supreme civil and military command in the Sudan was to be vested in a "Governor-General of the Sudan" to be appointed by the Khedive "on the recommendation of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and shall be removed only by Khedival Decree, with the consent of Her Britannic Majesty's Government" (Art. 3). The Governor-General was empowered to govern the Sudan with Proclamations. Egyptian laws were to have henceforth, no application in the Sudan (Art. 5), and Mixed Tribunals were not allowed to extend ther jurisdiction in any part of the Sudan (Art. 8) [For the text of this Convention—see *Brt. and For. St. Pap.*, Vol. XCI, p.19] On January 1892, Khedive Tewfik was succeeded by his son Abbas Hilmi. On April 8, 1904, was signed the Anglo-French Declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco, to which we have already made a reference. In 1905, Egypt gained financial autonomy in so far as the powers of the *Caisse de la Debt* decreased. On October 1, 1906, the Turco-Egyptian frontiers were settled by a Joint Commission, and Egypt got the Sinai

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Peninsula near the Gulf of Akaba [See Cmd. 3394 of 1907 ; *Par. Pap.* Vol. C. p. 617]. In 1907 Cromer resigned and Gorst became the new Agent and Consul-General in Egypt. Lord Cromer in his last Report 1906, foresaw the growth of a strong nationalist movement, but he tried to discourage it. He said : "Egyptian nationalism is a plant of exotic rather than of indigenous growth" [Cmd. 3394 of 1907, p. 627, 631]. The Egyptian National Assembly passed the following resolution in 1906: "That the Egyptians be granted a constitution and as a temporary measure, that the powers of the Provincial Councils, the Legislative Council and the General Assembly be increased" [See Cmd. 3451 of 1907, p. 4]. The Nationalist Party went further and demanded (1) Parliamentary Government with Ministerial responsibility, (2) Complete control of the finances of the country and (3) employment of Egyptians in the higher administrative posts hitherto held by the Europeans. To the first demand Cromer replied that it would lead to chaos, to the second that it would lead to national bankruptcy, and to the third, bribery and corruption. Sir Elden Gorst gave some powers to the Provincial Councils in June, 1908, to control and promote education and discuss local affairs. In that same year the Legislative Council passed a resolution demanding "effective participation with the Government in the internal administration of the country" and national control on finance [See Cmd. 4580 of 1909, p. 343]. In 1910, the pro-British Prime Minister was assasinatd. The Government took strong measures and did not convoke the Assembly. Inspired by the Turkish Revolution of 1911 the students in thousands and the press, agitated for Self-government. In 1911 Lord Kitchener became the Consul-General. He prevented Egypt from helping her suzerain in the Turco-Italian war of 1911. This created anti-Christian feelings in the country. Discontent was deep-seated, and to placate the public, the government passed the Organic Law of 1913, repealing that of 1883.

The Organic Law of 1913

The new Constitutional Law of July 21, 1913, combined the two Houses, the Legislative Council and the General Assembly into one, viz. the Legislative Assembly, composed of 89 members of whom six were ministers, and ex-officio members, 66 were elected in the second degree and 17 nominated, thus assuring a higher proportion of elected to nominated members. Of the 17 nominated members, 4 were to be Copts, 3 Arab Bedouins, 2 business men, 2 medical men, 1 engineer, 1 representative

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of general or religious education, 1 municipal representative, 1 President of the Assembly and 1 its Vice-President. This system of functional and religious representation was regarded by Lord Kitchener as definite improvement upon the previous system. Under Art. 4, the tenure of all the members was fixed at 6 years, one-third renewable every two years, thus introducing fresh elements and establishing a closer contact with the people. Under Art. 8, the dissolution of the Assembly was to be effected by a Khedival Decree issued "at the instance of our Council of Ministers." The Assembly possessed the right of discussing *thrice* all laws that referred to the internal affairs of Egypt and all Decrees regulating matters of public administration, subject to Art. 20. Over new taxes the Assembly had absolute power. Art. 17 declared: "No new direct tax, land tax or personal tax shall be imposed in Egypt without having been *discussed and voted* by the Legislative Assembly." The other subjects over which the Assembly had the right of discussion were the same as in Art. 35 of the old law. To the subjects which the Assembly could not discuss and vote under the old law, viz., Tributes, Public Debts, etc., was added the Khedive's Civil List (Art. 20). The Assembly was to meet annually on 1st of November, the session lasting till the end of May. The Khedive could summon it at any time for special reasons. Under Art. 25 every Egyptian had the right of addressing petition to the Khedive. The Articles dealing with Provincial Councils (Art. 35-50) were a mere repetition of the provision of Articles 2-17 of the old Law, as amended by Law No. 22 of 1909. Only the following changes were introduced: Each of the Provincial Councils would be composed of two representatives from each Markaz of the Mudira, elected by the elector-delegates of the villages in the Markaz, of which one representative would retire every two years. The life of the Provincial Council was fixed at four, instead of six years, while its powers were as of old. The Commission of Interpretation remained the same as under Art. 52 of the old law. Only, it was specified that the minister to be nominated by the Cabinet must be other than that of Justice; the two members of the former Legislative Council would be those of the new Assembly, and the three judges would be the President, the Vice-President and the Senior Judge of the Native Court of Appeal.

The franchise qualifications were the same as before. The Electoral Law provided for one elector-delegate for every 50 electors in a village. Art. 13 of the Electoral Law made the delegate more responsible to the electors than before, by providing for his recall at any time by a

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majority vote of the 50 electors. An elector-delegate must be 30 years of age and in the list of electors, while a member of the Assembly must be 35 years of age and have certain educational and property qualifications. The country was to be divided into single member constituencies, while the election of the members of the Assembly was to be held by absolute majority of votes (thus necessitating second ballot) instead of relative majority as of old (Art. 40). [For the texts of the Organic Law and the Electoral Law of 1913—see Cmd. 6875 and Cmd. 6878 of 1913]. It will be found that though the powers of the Assembly were increased to a certain extent in the matter of new taxation and general discussion, yet it was far from being a sovereign body. There was no ministerial responsibility, no parliamentary sovereignty in Egypt under this Law of 1913. The Khedive continued to be as irresponsible as before. The Prime Minister Mohamed Pasha, who was responsible for this Law, incurred the displeasure of the Khedive (who disliked this constitution thoroughly) and had to resign. The British Consul-General remained as powerful as ever.

The War and the Protectorate

The new Legislative Assembly of Egypt, under the Organic Law of July 21, 1913, met only once in 1914, but with the outbreak of the war, it was prorogued on October 8, for two months, and after that period was over, it was adjourned *sine die*. Lord Kitchner went to England where he became the Secretary of State for War, while the Khedive sailed for Constantinople and tried to put Egypt on the side of the Sultan. The Egyptian Cabinet led by Rushdi Pasha, and induced by the British Consul-General Sir Henry McMahon took a decision on August 5, 1914 to defend Egypt against "the government at war with His Britannic Majesty." The Martial Law was declared on November 2, 1914. Turkey entered the War on the side of Germany on November 7, 1914. On the same day, John Maxwell, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Egypt, extended the application of the decision of August 5, 1914 to Turkey. The British Government, in order to avoid the issue of divided allegiance, declared Egypt to be a Protectorate of Great Britain by the following proclamation of December 18, 1914 : "His Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs gives notice that in view of the state of war arising out of the action of Turkey, Egypt is placed under the protection of His Majesty and will henceforth constitute a British Protectorate. The suzerainty of Turkey over Egypt

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is thus terminated, and His Majesty's Government will adopt all measures for the defence of Egypt and protect its inhabitants and interets" [See—*Brt. and For. St. Pap.*, Vol. CIX (1915), p. 437]. On the next day, the British Government made another proclamation in which they deposed the Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha for "adhering to the King's enemies", and made Prince Hussein Kamel Pasha, the eldest living prince in the family of Mahomet Ali and second son of Ismail Pasha, the Sultan of Egypt. Simultaneouly a letter was addressed by the British representative at Cairo to the new Sultan informing him that Great Britain had accepted full responsibility for the defence and protection of His Highness's territories and subjects, that all restrictions upon the numbers and organisation of the Egyptian Army had been removed ; but it added that Egyptian foreign relations wonld be henceforth conducted by His Majesty's representative at Cairo. The letter also indicated that capitulations would be revised after the end of the War. [For the texts of the Proclamation and the letter, 19th December, 1914, See—Lord LLoyd—*Ibid*, Vol. I, Appendix B, pp. 376-379 ; also *Brt. and For. St. Pap.*—Vol. CIX (1915), p. 437]. The explanatory Note addressed to Sultan Hussein also contained these lines : "From the facts set out it results that the rights over the Egyptian Executive, whether of the Sultan or of the Khedive, are forfeited to His Majesty." Commenting on this Lord LLoyd remarked : "Possessing now both the rights of the suzerain power and the rights of the *de jure* ruler, we had a basis from which we might legally proceed to make any change we pleased in the constitution". Both the British Government and Lord LLoyd completely forgot the Anglo-French Declaration of 8th April, 1904. Even the Earl of Cromer had, as early as 1906, regarded the Declaration of Egypt as a British Protectorate, impossible. [See Cmd. 3394 of 1907, p. 12].

However, after placing Sultan Hussein,—a loyal and Anglo-phile Sultan who actually suggested the British annexation of Egypt [See Lloyd—*Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 257], the British Government proceeded to make Egypt the base of their military operations in the East. In 1916 Sir Reginald Wingate, who was for the last seventeen years Sirdar and Governor-General of the Sudan, was appointed High Commissioner for Egypt. On October 9, 1917, Sultan Hussein died, but a day before his death, his son, Prince Kemal-ed-Din had, by a letter addressed to his father, renounced his claim to the throne. Ahmed Fuad, Ismail Pasha's third son, "was hastily chosen by the British Government to succeed" Sultan Hussein, for, the right "to decide questions affecting the Succession to the Egyptian throne belonged to the British Government by virtue of their

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assumption of rights previously exercised by Turkey" [See-Valentine Chirol—*The Egyptian Problem* (1920), p. 133]. Throughout, 1917, there were violent agitations everywhere in Egypt for national self-determination. The people had suffered much through (1) recruiting for the Egyptian Labour and Camel Transport Corps, (2) the requisition of domestic animals and cereals for war use, and (3) the forced collections for the Red Cross Fund. The hopes raised by the public announcements of President Wilson and the Anglo-French Declaration of November, 1918, which promised "Complete and definitive enfranchisement of the peoples liberated from Turkish oppression" in Syria and Mesopotamia, emboldened Rushdi Pasha, the Egyptian premier to attempt a solution of the Anglo-Egyptian constitutional problem. A special Commission to report on constitutional reform in Egypt was appointed at the beginning of 1918. Sir William Brunyate, the Acting Judicial Adviser, was requested by this Commission to draw up a confidential note to serve as a basis for their discussion. The contents of the Note leaked out. There was to be a bicameral legislature, in which the Upper Chamber was to contain Egyptian Ministers, British Advisers and representatives of foreign communities, elected by special electorates. The Lower Chamber was to be elected on a popular basis as before. But the Upper Chamber was to be given a preponderating voice, while a certification power was kept reserved in the hands of the Government to be exercised only with the approval of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. [For details of Brunayate Note—see—Lloyd—*Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 277]. This Note was shown to Rushdi Pasha, and as the Milner Commission's Report says, "a storm of protest was aroused by a project which was interpreted as assigning only consultative functions to an Egyptian Legislative Assembly, while bestowing all legislative power on a Senate in which the officially-nominated members and a group of elected foreigners would constitute the majority" [*Par. Pap.*, Vol. 42 (1921), p. 641].

After the Armistice the British Government refused permission to the Egyptian Prime Minister, as well as to the Egyptian Nationalist Committee led by Zaglul Pasha, to proceed to London to place their case before them, while Egypt's claim to be present in the Peace Conference was also turned down. As a result violent disturbances and open rebellion broke out in the country. Rushdi Pasha resigned. Lord Allenby succeeded Sir R. Wingate and tried to restore peace by both strong and conciliatory measures. The ban on Zaglul who was deported to Malta was removed. The British Government sent a Mission in Egypt, known as the Milner Mission "to enquire into the causes of the late

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disorders in Egypt and to report on the existing situation in the country and form of the constitution which *under the Protectorate*, will be best calculated to promote its peace and prosperity, the progressive development of self-governing institution and the protection of foreign interests." (*The Milner Report*—Cmd. 1131 of 1921). The Commission arrived at Cairo on 7th December, 1919, was thoroughly boycotted and left the country in March 1920. However, it came to the following conclusions: (1) "no settlement could be satisfactory which was simply imposed by Great Britain upon Egypt, but that it would be wiser to seek a solution by means of a bilateral agreement—a Treaty—between the two countries"; (2). "The Treaty should not be allowed to come into force unless it had been approved by a genuinely representative Egyptian Assembly .. a popularly elected body, deliberating with perfect freedom and taking its decision without official or other pressure of any kind." ; (3) "Egypt, in return for Great Britain's undertaking to defend her integrity and independnce, would agree to be guided by Great Britain in her foreign relations"; (4) "in order to protect her special interest in Egypt—the safety of her Imperial communications—Great Britain was to have the right to maintain a military force on Egyptian soil" ; (5) "for the protection of all legitimate foreign interests, she was to have a certain measure of control over Egyptian legislation and administration, as far as they affected foreigners"; (6) Great Britain would try to "confine the special privileges enjoyed by foreigners under the capitulations within more reasonable limits and by so doing to make Egypt much more the mistress in her own house than she is to-day" ; (7) "It should be the aim of British policy to relieve Egypt from any financial responsibility for the Sudan and to establish the relations of the two countries for the future upon a basis which will secure the independent development of the Sudan while safeguarding the vital interests of Egypt in the waters of the Nile" [Cmd. 1131 of 1921, pp. 19, 21, 34].

While in London Lord Milner met Zaglul Pasha who was invited there to place his views before the Mission. The conversations ended in what is known as the Milner-Zaglul Agreement (an outline, on the basis of which an agreement was thought possible). The document was handed over to Adli Pasha, the Egyptian premier, by Lord Milner, to elicit an expression of Egyptian public opinion. It consisted of eleven articles of which Article 3 (i) declared that Great Britain would recognise "the independence of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy with representative institutions and Egypt will confer upon Great Britain snch rights as are necessary to safeguard her special interests and to enable her to

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furnish the guarantees which must be given to foreign powers to secure the relinquishment of their Capitulatory rights." Art. 3 (ii) laid down that by the same Treaty an alliance would be concluded between Great Britain and Egypt, the former undertaking to support Egypt in defending the integrity of her territory, while Egypt "will undertake, in case of war, *even when the integrity of Egypt is not affected*, to render to Great Britain all the assistance in her power, within her own borders, including the use of her harbours, aerodromes, and means of communication for military purposes." The fourth article contained the following provisions: (1) Egypt would not adopt any attitude or "enter into any agreement with a Foreign Power which is prejudicial to British interests"; (2) Great Britain would have "a right to maintain a military force on Egyptian soil for the protection of her Imperial communications"; (3 & 4) Egypt would appoint a British Financial Adviser, and "an official in the Ministry of Justice", having the right of access to Ministers, "in concurrence with His Majesty's Government"; (5) Great Britain was to have additional powers to "prevent the application to foreigners of any Egyptian law, now requiring foreign consent"; (6) The British representative at Cairo would be "accorded an exceptional position in Egypt and will be entitled to precedence over all other representatives"; (7) Egyptian Government was empowered to terminate the service of British and other foreign officers and administrative officials "within two years after the coming into force of this Treaty". Art. 5 required that the Treaty must be approved by an Egyptian Constituent Assembly, but "it will not come into force until after the agreement with foreign powers for the closing of their Consular Courts and the decrees for the reorganisation of the Mixed Tribunals have come into force." Art. 6 contained this important provision: "This Constituent Assembly will also be charged with the duty of framing a new Organic Statute, in accordance with the provisions of which the Government of Egypt will in future be conducted. *This Statute will embody provisions for the Ministers being responsible to the Legislature*". Arts. 7, 8 and 10, dealt with the necessary reorganisations for modifying the capitulatory regime. Art. 8 (b) provided that "Egyptian nationality law will be founded on the *jus Sanguinis* so that the children born in Egypt of a foreigner will enjoy the nationality of their fathers and will not be claimed as Egyptian subjects". By article 11, Great Britain was to "support an application by Egypt for admission as a member of the League of Nations" [Cmd. 1131 of 1921, pp. 39-41].

Zaglul, after discussing the memorandum with the leaders of the

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country, informed Lord Milner in October 1920 that his party would not accept the memorandum, if (1) the functions of the Financial and Judicial Advisers where not strictly limited, (2) if the coming into force of the Treaty be made dependent upon the previous conclusion of agreements with capitulatory powers, as provided in Art. 5, (3) if the Protectorate was not formally abolished ; (4) if the number of British troops was not limited and the plan for their location was not confined only to the Suez canal zone ; and lastly, (5) if Egypt was not allowed an equal share with Great Britain in the administration of the Sudan. Lord Milner saw no way to accept these modifications, the negotiations failed, and he submitted his Report to the Secretary of State on December, 9, 1920.

In November 1921 Adly Pasha, went to England. The British Government agreed to regard the Milner Report as the basis of all discussions. Lord Curzon issued a Memorandum containing the terms of the draft treaty which he had discussed with Adly. Its major provisions are these : The Protectorate was formally abolished ; but while maintaing the *status quo* of the condominum in the Sudan, it was laid down that the Egyptian army in the Sudan should be under the Governor-General. Adly, however, strongly urged the "incontestable right of Egypt to sovereignty over the Sudan," and he wanted a definite location of British troops in Egypt [See—Cmd. 1617 of 1921, for details]. The British Government sent a Note to the Sultan, on December 3, 1921 warning him, that after the rejection of the draft proposals they could not "hold out any prospect of reconsideration of the principle on which they were framed." Adly resigned the same day. On December 11, 1921, Lord Allenby (High Commissioner from 1919 to 1925), relying on a memorandum submitted to him by British Advisers to the Egyptian Government, telegraphed to Lord Curzon, the following : "I must ask your Lordshp and His Majesty's Government to believe me when I state the fact that no Egyptian, no matter what his personal opinions may be, can sign any instrument which in his view is *incompatible with complete independence.* Consequently it is necessary to abandon definitely the idea that the Egyptian question can be settled by means of a treaty. His Majesty's Government, therefore, *must renounce the hope of obtaining the advantages* to be derived from a treaty in return for concessions which they may make to Egyptians." [See—Cmd. 1592 ; *Par. Pap.*, Vol. 23, of 1922, p. 33].

The British Government hesitated. Political agitation took violent forms in Egypt. The High Commissioner prohibited Zaglul from partici-

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pating in politics, and when the latter violated the order, he was arrested and deported to Secheylles. For two months various telegraphic communications passed between Lord Allenby and Lord Curzon, as to the best method for the solution of the Egyptian problem. At last, on February 21, 1922, Lord Curzon sent the following two documents to Lord Allenby: (1) "A Declaration which His Majesty's Government will invite Parliament to approve terminating Protectorate over Egypt" and (2) "A Letter which Your Lordship should address to the Sultan when communicating to His Highness the above declaration." On February 28, 1922, the Declaration was made public. It ran thus: "Whereas His Majesty's Government, in accordance with their declared intentions, desire forthwith to recognise Egypt as an independent Sovereign State; and

Whereas relations between His Majesty's Government and Egypt are of vital interest to the British Empire :

The following principles are hereby declared :—

1. The British Protectorate over Egypt is terminated, and Egypt is declared to be an independent Sovereign State.

2. So soon as the Government of His Highness shall pass an Act of Indemnity with application to all inhabitants of Egypt, martial law as proclaimed on November 2, 1914, shall be withdrawn.

3. The following matters are *absolutely reserved* to the discretion of His Majesty's Government until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accomodation, on both sides to conclude agreements in regard thereto between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Egypt :—

(a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt.

(b) The defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect.

(c) The protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities.

(d) The Sudan.

Pending the conclusion of such agreements, the *status quo* in all these matters shall remain intact [Cmd. 1592 of 1922].

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The letter to the Sultan, which accompanied the Declaration explained the reservations. They were claimed by Great Britain "out of consideration for her own security in face of a situation which demands great prudence on her part, particularly in the matter of disposition of her troops". The ninth paragraph of the letter allowed Egypt the right of re-establishing forthwith a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while the tenth contained the following: "The creation of a Parliament with a right to control the policy and administration of a constitutionally responsible Government is a matter for your Highness and the Egyptian people to determine" [Cmd. 1592 of 1922].

The next day, March 1, Egypt was declared an independent sovereign state and Sultan Fuad took the title of King.

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SPINOZA

By **Prof. Peter Krieger**, M.A.

Baruch de Spinoza was the son of a Hispano-Jewish family, one of those many thousands of Jewish families who left Spain and Portugal at the end of the 16th century fleeing before the Inquisition-tribunals of the Catholic Church[1] and taking refuge in the countries of freedom, as Holland, Belgium etc. His life was singularly simple and uneventful. He was born in 1632 in Amsterdam. He received the traditional Jewish education based on the Bible and the Talmud.

At the age of 24 he was excommunicated by the Jewish community for his heretical views and this ban has not been lifted up to this day. He has never even attempted to bridge or minimize the gulf between his own thoughts and official Judaism. His was the fate of a son of an Eastern people's first generation who came in close contact with the culture and learning of the West. Europe of that time seemed to him much superior to his own Jewish world and, full of admiration for Western thought, he left willingly his own people and plunged himself into the philosophical problems and discussions which occupied then the noblest minds in Paris and Firenze, Heidelberg and Vienna. Spinoza's place is doubtlessly in the pantheon of European and not Jewish philosophy and yet the inner dynamics of his system are profoundly Jewish.

His Hebrew name Baruch was consequently latinized into Benedictus but a witty critic called him later Maledictus. All his life Spinoza liked to live in quiet quarters of certain small Dutch towns. He made his living from the grinding of optical lenses and it was the fine dust of glass which ultimately ruined his lungs and caused his early death in 1677. In the seclusion of his scholarly life Spinoza had nevertheless contact with the most prominent men of his time. There was Christian Huygens, the famous physicist, there was Robert Boyle in England. The German philosopher Leibniz always tried to borrow the manuscripts of Spinoza's

[1]These Jews who were forcibly baptized into Catholic faith but adhered to their Judaism in secret were called "marranos". Spinoza was the descendant of such a family.

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unpublished works. Louis XIV invited him to receive a pension, the University of Heidelberg wanted to appoint him for the chair of philosophy.

Spinoza's most important work, the "Ethics" or with its full name "Ethica Ordine Geometrico Demonstrata" was published not under the author's full name but under the initials B.D.S. only. Apparently he did not wish his doctrine to be called after him. He wanted to be forgotten in his work. Truth itself had to speak out of the book, the way it was said and by whom it was said seemed to him of no importance. The "Ethics" contains the full expression of his thoughts as prepared in his earlier works. It is interesting and instructive to have a glance at the division of this book. The first part is called "On God"; the second "On the Nature and Origin of Mind"; the third "On the Origin and Nature of the Emotions"; the forth "On Human Servitude or the Strength of Emotions"; the fifth and last "On the Power of the Intellect or Human Freedom".

The idea of this division is clear. Spinoza is moralist, his problem is the problem of ethics, i. e. of conduct. But man is only a part of nature, human conduct only one case of universal conduct. Nature in a narrow sense is the subject-matter of science, in a wider sense it is the subject-matter of metaphysics. Therefore his ethics are based on his metaphysics, more than that, they are a mere application of his metaphysical conception to the individual, are a logical outcome of his metaphysical position.

One word has to be said about the method of the "Ethics". The book is "ordine geometrico demonstrata", i. e. arranged like a mathematical theorem with propositions, axioms and demonstrations. This method of putting forward a philosophical thesis which had been used already before Spinoza is applid by him with admirable skill and consequence. It seems that it suited well his ideal of impersonality, it was the most adequate style for the expression of his philosophy.

The totality of all existing is called by Spinoza "Deus sive Natura" God or Nature, the word "or" expressing here absolute identity. The universe in its totality is nature=God. That is the reverse of God's relationship to the world as conceived in Judaism. There God, the creator, is opposed to the world as his creation. Here God is immanent in nature but not like the soul in the body. God *is* the universe. "Everything which exists, exists in God and without God nothing could either exist or be conceived". "God" perfect, absolute and infinite

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equals "nature". Later on Spinoza makes it clear that for him God= Nature=Substance. "Substance" is according to the usual definition of mediaeval philosophy something that is independent and self-contained. There can be only one such substance in Spinoza's conception, i. e. God=Nature. Apart from God there is no other substance.

It follows from the above that the more we know of nature we know of God. He is the free cause. All other things depend on him, cannot be without him. God's will, i. e. the Law of Nature follows from his own absolute nature. There is no arbitrariness in God's will, he is acting from the necessity of his own nature.

Nature is of course wider than our experience. Thought is limited, being unlimited. God is infinite, hence unapproachable by the finite. God = Nature = Substance can therefore not be adequately conceived by us. That, however, which our intellect percevies as constituting the essence of Substance is called "Attribute". Or in other words, attribute is substance as revealed to our knowledge. Of these attributes we know only two: Thought and Extension. The universe is totally expressed in each of them. They are like two different languages expressing the same thing, everyone in its own way. The universe can be expressed mentally or physically.

From God, Nature, Substance and Attributes Spinoza goes on specifying the universe through infinite modes, finite modes etc, until every individual finds its place in the system. For as we have said, man is only one case of the whole universe and his moral conduct only one consequence of his metaphysical position.

It is impossible to go more into details in the course of an article. I would have reached my purpose, if even one of the readers of these lines would feel inclined to read himself the works of this interesting Eastern philosopher transplanted to the soil of the West.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE PROGRAMME AND POLICY OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA

The Programme and Policy of the National Government, now that it has returned to its capital, Nanking, have been fully set out in the decisions of the Central Political Conference and a number of official proclamations and statements issued over the period of the Government's formal assumption of office. A study of these reveals that the fundamental principle of the Government is Peace, peace in China, peace in the Far East, peace in the World, as the necessary antecedent to China's reconstruction and rehabilitation, and the creation of a New Order based on friendship, justice, equality, reciprocity and mutual respect.

The foreign policy of the Government, therefore, will be primarily directed towards the establishment and maintenance of peaceful and friendly relations with all Powers. Not, however, on the present basis, which reduces China to a subservient position, and compels her to grant to others privileges which those others are not prepared to grant her. There can be no stability in Far Eastern or even in World politics, no permanent assurance of peace and friendship so long as China is relegated to a position of inferiority. Only as a free and independent sovereign State can she play her proper part in the world, and in particular, assume her due share of responsiblity for the well-being of the Far East and its peoples.

One of the main items in the National Government's programme is the abolition of the restraints imposed on China's sovereignty by the system of extraterritoriality and the encroachments on her territorial and administrative integrity involved in the existence of foreign Settlements and Concessions. All methods of peaceful diplomacy—of Peace Diplomacy—will be employed to achieve this, and thus bring about an adjustment of Sino-Foreign relations on the only true basis of friendship, namely, equality, reciprocity, and mutual respect. Legitimate foreign rights and interests will be respected, but there must be a clear understanding of their nature and extent. Unauthorized extensions of foreign privileges and alleged rights which have been established only as a result of encroachments on Treaty provisions will necessarily be denounced.

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Thereafter they will only exist as the result of *force majeure*, and will definitely take on the appearance of unfriendly actions.

Peace in the Far East and the future progress and prosperity of its peoples depend primarily on the establishment of true friendship between China and Japan. "The realization of peace", says President Wang Ching-Wei's Proclamation to the Nation on the occasion of the Government's return to Nanking, "aims, in concerted effort with Japan and in accordance with the principles of good-neighbourliness, and with a common anti-Comintern front and economic co-operation as a basis, at weeding out past controversies and establishing future amicable relationships between the two countries. All policies adopted, and all laws and decrees enforced in the past that run counter to these declared policies will be abolished or amended in order that our sovereign independence and territorial and administrative integrity may be safeguarded, and that a reciprocal and equal economic system may be realized, so as to lay the foundations of future co-existence and co-prosperity. With this readjustment made, China and Japan, like two brothers reconciled after an unfortunate resort to arms, will be in everlasting peace, and will jointly stabilize East Asia." The Proclamation goes on, "The same policy of peace-diplomacy will also be applied to all friendly Powers in order to promote amicable relationships through faith and sincerity.

The corner-stone, indeed, of the Government's foreign policy is friendship with Japan that has recognised China as an equal, has guaranteed respect for her sovereign independence and administrative and territorial integrity, and further has promised China sympathetic aid and support in the task of bringing to an end the system of extraterritoriality and foreign concessions. The greatest threat to the future well-being of China and the stability of the Far East comes from the communists. The conclusion of an anti-Comintern pact with Japan to overcome that threat, and joint action with friendly Powers to counteract the subversive activities of the Communist International, is therefore an essential part of the Government's programme.

Peace at home is as integral a part of the Government's policy as Peace abroad. Internally, its first business will be to bring about a speedy cessation of hostilities and to establish a regime of law and order. To this end a National Defence Army will be organized in which will be incorporated, after a period of rehabitation, the troops now in the service of Chungking, as they transfer their allegiance to the National Government. *Pari passu* the guerrilla

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areas will be pacified, and the former guerrillas assisted to return their homes and pursue productive ends.

In the organization of the National Defence Army the respective spheres of military administration and military command will be strictly delimited, and by the proper subordination of the military to the civil authorities any possibility of a recurrence of military dictatorship prevented.

This is an essential feature of any form of Constitutional Government and the enforcement of such government is the second of the Government's two main policies. The National Government is to be a Constitutional Government, one broadly based on the will of the people and public opinion. While the Kuo-Min Tang, as the major political force in the creation of modern China, must remain to provide direction and inspiration, there will be no party exclusiveness or dictatorship. The Kuo-Min Tang will act rather as the nucleus to which will cohere representatives of all parties, and all men of ability, who in so doing will give the State the benefit of their services and advice. In the Central Political Council political energy will be co-ordinated, and public opinion consolidated.

In pursuance of this policy a National Assembly will be convoked, and a Constitution promulgated at the earliest possible moment. Various grades of representative organs will be set up, and measures taken for the establishment of local self-government.

The establishment of peace is but the preliminary to the work of rehabilitation and reconstruction which must be the main business in the immediate future of any government of China worthy of the name. "The National Government," says the Proclamation to the Nation, "takes as its duty the rehabilitation of the people's livelihood by the legal protection of their lives, properties and liberties, in order that they may, by peaceful pursuit of their professions and trades, devote themselves to the economic and industrial recovery and cultural development of the country."

Here financial reform will be one of the first steps. A trustworthy currency system, which will suit both the needs of the Chinese people and the requirements of foreign trade, will be devised by the unification, within the shortest possible period, of the various currencies now circulating. Foreign trade will be promoted and controlled to secure a balance of International Payments, and a Central Bank set up to supervise the task.

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National credit will be maintained by the acknowledgement of existing loans and their eventual redemption.

The co-operation of Japan in the work of industrial and commercial reconstruction has already been assured, but assistance will also be sought in the from of capital and of technical co-operation from all freindly Powers. These will be given ample opportunity to share on equitable terms in this work, and in its legitimate profits.

The rehabilitation of the rural population will be more than half accomplished by the establishment of law and order and the elimination of the guerrilla menace. The process will be completed by lightening the burden of taxation, even, in those areas which have suffered most severely, to the extent of exemption, while measures of positive releif will be adopted to assist the farmers to increase their production and facilitate the distribution of their products.

The work of reconstruction and the reorganization of China into a modern State demands not only material but psychological and moral rehabilitation. Educational work will reinforce political measures. China's educational system and policy will be throughly overhauled and re-established in accordance with the priciples of good-neighbourliness and ant-communism. In particular, teachings of mutual friendship and respect will replace in China, as they will in Japan, the former antagonism inculcated under the old system.

Education in the past has tended to divide the people by establishing an educated class as distinct from the masses. Now it will be made to accord more with the general need. There will be education to give the people a livelihood. Technical and professional schools will be organized and vocational training given in connection with the industrial concerns. Less stress will be laid on imported foreign ideas, which have not always had too happy an influence on Chinese national life. Foreign culture and thought will not be rejected, but they will not be absorbed as they accord with the preservation and development of China's national culture.

The programme of the National Government, then, aims at lifting China from her quasi-colonial status to the position of a free sovereign and independent member of the comity of nations. It aims at the creation of a Constitutional Government truly representative of the nation. It aims at peace in the Far East and the eradication of the communist elements which would turn China into another Soviet appendage. To this end it has sought and achieved friendship with

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Japan on a basis of equality, reciprocity and mutual respect and invites other Powers to accept these same principles in their relations with her. It aims at the rehabilitation of the Chinese people and the reconstruction and modernization of the State on lines which, while accepting the best things that the West has to offer, still preserves for China her national identity. China, has, in fact, once again a National Government, friendly to friendly Powers, but subservient to none.

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY AT SARNATH

At the Second All-Asia Conference, Mr. Darrell Peiris paid a glowing tribute to the Founder of the Maha Bodhi Society and his able successor Anagarike Devapriya Walisingha, who is silently, efficiently and faithfully carrying on the noble work of his predecessor. Mr. Peiris read the following messages from his friend Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar of the Department of Economics, Calcutta University, a constant and devoted friend of the Maha Bodhi Society.

"Dharmapala gave concrete evidence of his right observation or proper understanding of the realities of the world when he discovered the truths, first that Ceylon is today a part of Greater India, and secondly, that India, Ceylon and Burma are integrally associated with the rest of Buddhist Asia. He discovered that Japanese Buddhism had preserved the spirit of ancient Indian Buddhism, which, India, Burma and Ceylon needed today to restore living Buddhism, namely the system of devotion to life in the now and the here, the pursuit of appamada (energism) as well as indifference to anagatam (the future) and atitam (the past combined with genuine appreciation of the life beyond), Dharmapala functioned as a Maker and exponent of Young Asia.

Today a part of this Young Asia movement is seen to be realised in the Maha Bodhi Society of Calcutta, which established as it was by the Ceylonese, goes ahead under the inspiration of Dharmapala himself, has been serving to bring under one roof the Chinese, the Japanese, the Burmese, the Tibetans, the Ceylonese, the Bengalis and other Indians several times a year. Then the foundations have been laid (1935) at Sarnath, Benares, the International Buddhist University which, again, is growing into a Centre of Co-operative Cultural Creations of the Buddhist of all Asia, nay, Eur-American as well.

Young Asia is today Self-Conscious enough, thanks to the activities of men like Vivekananda and Dharmapala at home and abroad, to lead

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Eur-America to acquire some of the Sammadditthi and to feel that, after all, a New Age has made its appearance. It is an age in which domination of one race by another is to be a thing of the past but in which diverse races, cults, faiths and cultures, are to meet on a platform of equality, freedom and mutual respect. Dharmapala has then, like Vivekananda, to be appraised as one of the Apostles of International Peace and World-wide Brotherhood."

"I have already interested many thinkers in India, Burma, Siam, Japan, America, Europe and other lands in the early establishment of this, much needed, International Buddhist University at Sarnath. Professor T. L. Atreya of the Department of Philosophy of Benares University, Professor Nolen Ganguli, former Principal of Viswabharati University at Shantiniketan and many other distinguished scholars of the East and the West have volunteered their service. In my lecture tours in Europe, America and Asia, I have done a fair amount of propaganda and the response received is very heartening.

The spirit of Peace, Self-Denial, Self-Control and Meditation still prevails in India and Buddhist Asia. Swami Vivekananda appealed to the Hindus and Buddhists to unite in creating a New Spiritual Dynamic competent to master and reform the world. The divorce of Buddhism from Hinduism, according to Vivekananda, led to the downfall of India. "Once more," said the Swami, "the world must be conquered by India's Spirituality as in the days of Asoka."

Therefore I appeal to Asia the mother of religions to help the Maha Bodhi Society to establish the I. B. U. at Sarnath. I appeal to all lovers of Peace and Culture in Europe, America, Africa and Australia to back the Maha Bodhi Society in its epoch-making endeavour to revive the "Golden Age of the Mauryas when no Indian man was known to tell a lie and no Indian woman was unchaste (Megasthenes)". The New World Order will be the result of the Union of the Renaissance of the spirit of Ahimsa (non-violence) in Modern India and the spirit of Maitri (Universal Love) in Buddhist Asia. The New University will produce dynamic World Leaders who will spread the Gospel of Ahimsa and Maitri all over the world and lead the nations into a Satya-Yuga when the Dharma-Rajya will be firmly established in the hearts of men. Many of us are ready to devote the rest of our lives to make the vision of Dharmampala and Devapriya a living Reality in Holi Isipatana. With a heart full of gratitude to the bold Scion of the Lion race who was

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instrumental in pioneering this movement for the regeneration of the Lion race I humbly propose the following resolution :—

"This Conference appeals to all lovers of Asiatic Culture in the world to help the Maha Bodhi Society to establish an International Buddhist University at Sarnath."

Miss Sakuntala Sastry, Fellow of Calcutta University, M. A., B. Litt. (Oxon) Secretary of the World Fellowship of Faiths, Principal of South Calcutta Girls' College, strongly advocated the establishment of the I. B. U. at Anuradhapura. "The memory of Sanghamitta and Mahinda, the Sacred Bo-tree and the Sacred ruins bear witness to what man has done for Religion. Anuradhapura and not Sarnath is still the capital of Buddhist Asia."

Dr. Laxmipathi emphatically declared that the I. B. U. should be at Sarnath and nowhere else. We in India need the Message and Culture of Buddha very badly. Buddhism represents the culture of India at its highest and as such should be re-established in the land of its birth. Buddhism is still the most powerful force in India. Mahatma Gandhi's spirit of Ahimsa is a revival of the pure spirit of Buddhism. We in India are Buddhists in spirit though we do not call ourselves as such. We are repenting for having driven Budhhism out of India.

Every religion of Indian origin has its headquarters on Indian soil. Why should not Buddhism, the finest flower of Indian thought, also have its World Headquatters at Sarnath ?

Mr. Henry Amarasuriya, Member of the State Council, ex-President of the Ceylon National Congress and the All-Ceylon Congress of Buddhist Associations, heartily seconded the resolution. In doing so he declared that the more the International Institutes are established in India and Ceylon, the quicker will the Dharma spread. The world's culture is at a low ebb. France's great International Centre of Culture has received a crushing blow through its unconditional surrender. Let Sarnath take its place as the Capital of the New Empire of World Culture. Sarnath's name is fascinating. Let nobody grudge his moral support to this venture."

After the discussion the Resolution was unanimously passed amidst appluase.

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THE FOUNDER OF THE FIRST OPEN AIR SCHOOL

By the courtesy of the Information Service of the International Bureau of Education, Geneva

In 1940, Spain will celebrate, at the same time as the 4th centenary of the Spanish educationist Luis Vives, the 50th anniversary of the founding of the first open air school by Don Andrès Manjon. Professor of Law at the University of Granada and Canon of the Church, Manjon was stirred by the physical, and even more by the spiritual distress of the children of gypsies living in the gypsy quarter of the town. He tells as follows the story of the birth of the first of the "Ave Maria" open air schools, one day in October 1888.

Riding an ass, he passed in front of one of the grottoes of the Sacro Monte of Granada and heard the catechism being sung within. Dismounting, he entered this grotto and found within some little gypsy girls shepherded by an old woman of whom he asked: "What is all this ?

—Don't you see that it is a school...
—What rent do you pay ?
—Four *pesetas* a month.
—Which I will pay you, if you wish.
—How could I do otherwise than wish it !

Thus did Don Andrès Manjon become a teacher of little gypsies, while he went on being the teacher of future theologians and lawyers. Little by little he bought several country houses ("carmenes") around Granada which he turned into schools for the children who came in crowds from the town.

Manjon wished that all schools could be situated in the open air like those of the "Ave Maria". "I am", he says in one of his books, "a believer in country life—especially from the point of view of physical education—and I would like seminaries, colleges, normal schools and universities to be situated, as much as possible, outside the towns, in the open country. As to the elementary schools of towns of some importance, I would endeavour to place them round about the towns, near the gates and the gardens that usually surround them.

"The country is the best environment for developing life. Air, sunshine and soil are better there than in town. There is more space, living is cheaper, as well as more natural and healthy. From the point of view of

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physical training, everything in the towns is poor and ugly, unless you can see beauty in the high walls surrounding schools, in the cloisters which allow the pupils to walk two and two, in the rooms where the children eat, study, play and sleep in common, breathing close and stuffy air.

"The school should be a sanatorium, and sanatoria are not built in towns. The school should have ground for agricultural experiments, as well as playing field, and in towns you cannot have them because the cost would be too high...

"Away then to the country, for health, for games, for education, for work! All our "Ave Maria" foundations at Granada are situated near the town but not in it, at the gates of the city not in its midst; they look out on to the country...

"The seven country-houses ("Carmenes") are separate so that there should be more order, but near one another so that they can be supervised and directed by one brain. In them, everything is spacious, joyful and healthy. There is room to play and to work; there are beautiful gardens, pleasing to the eye and fragrant to the nostrils. There are plenty of crystal-clear fountains for watering, for drinking, for bathing, while arbours of vine, honey-suckle, climbing roses and passion-flowers afford shelter from the sun's rays."

But Manjon must not be looked upon only as the founder of the first open air school, he was also a wholehearted advocate, not merely in theory but in practice, of the principle of learning through play which was to find such favour among educationists of the present century.

"Remember", wrote Manjon, "your passion for playing and, in teaching, you will use "the play way"; remember how cross you were when you felt shut up in the house, and you will choose the country for teaching and playing; remember how tedious you found the rules of academic grammar and you will teach the language the other way round from the usual method; remember how you loved to play shop, to make carts with wheels, windmills with sails, houses with stones and kitchen-gardens with plants, and you will learn to teach agriculture, industry and commerce not in extracts summarising the works of experts (the only use of which is to be memorised by those who study them), but with facts and with play, using playthings when the real things fail, accepting figures and pictures when one has to do even without playthings."

Manjon went further than just applying in his teaching the method of educational play. He saw and applied the principle of the "activity

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school" and the work-school "*Arbeitsschule*". "It is wise", he said, "to make use of the craving for doing things which is so strong in the child, and to instruct and educate him through this characteristic of his. However, there must be no exaggeration : it will not do to fancy that ethics, science and the art of education can be acquired by using one's hands, for history, language and other educational means, which cannot be "manipulated", teach and educate as much as, and more than, the scissors and the awl."

This brief description of Manjon's work would be incomplete if it did not draw attention to another aspect of his personality : he was, through his "Ave Maria" schools, an apostle of popular education inspired by the Christian ideal. His great preoccupation was to educate the poor and lowly. Had he not begun his work by teaching little gypsies and was it not his boast that he gave the underprivileged a better—we should to-day a "more modern"—education than the children of the well-to-do were given in the public or private schools of his day ?

The personality of the professor-schoolmaster deserves to be studied and understood. He published many books, in particular the one entitled "*El maestro mirando hacia fuera*" (the schoolmaster looks out of doors). A whole issue of the Madrid educational review "Atenas", that of April 1939, was devoted to him. For readers who prefer French, we can mention an article by Professor Dévaud, of the University of Fribourg (Switzerland), entitled "*Pedagogie a ciel ouvert*" (Education under the Open Sky), published in the "Revue belge pédagogie", of April and May, 1939.

THE SECOND ALL-ASIA CONFERENCE

Thanks to our esteemed friend and colleague Sj. Baij Nath Khanna, M. A., Editor of The *New World Order*, Delhi, we publish the following report for the benefit of our readers :

In the middle of June at the holy city of Anuradhapura, Ceylon, the Conference met to discuss the future of the human race again faced with the tragic crisis. Dr. Laxmipathy, the President observed :—

"We meet here at a time when dark clouds are threatening to embroil the whole world in a most devastating war, when the forces of Rajas and Tamoguna appear to supplant all Sattwa, when Rosha and Moha (wrath and ignorance) are having their unbridled sway.

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If a New World Order is to come out of the present World Chaos we must work positively in co-operation to counteract the negative forces. With an ancient civilization India and her daughter Lanka have together a message of Good-will and Courage to deliver to the world.

Our conception of Life is different from that of the West. Life is defined by some as the sacred pilgrimage to the shrine of the Spirit. Other regard it as a battle-field, where each one of us has to do his duty, to battle against wrong and to fight injustice ; while still others hold that life is a voyage of discovery, where we learn from every experience. It is also defined as the harmonious realisation of Dharma, Artha and Sukha.

Even the development of our sciences is fundamentally different from that of the West. The great reserves of knowledge we possess have not been understood by the Westerners who took most of them as mere superstition.

Similarly, there are other sciences such as Yoga, which are learnt only through the personal initiation by the Guru and in which mere books alone will not help us. This unseen world of the Supersenses, which now belongs to the Yogi, should be explored in the light of modern Science.

To-day, we require in our young men a harmonious development of the manifold qualities necessary for humanitarian Service. Service is based on Renunciation of self and pure Love for all. Love hath no barriers of rich and poor or caste and creed, It is the best bond of Followship. It has malice towards none. It is the most invincible force in the world. It is Love alone that can build up great Nations. Destructive forces of war and violence may succeed only for the time being.

Asoka the Great is still alive amongst the nations of the East and it is his influence that has brought us together to-day. The weapon with which he conquered continents was Ahimsa and Maitri. (Non-violence and Universal Love).

Mahatma Gandhi's teaching is to correct the opponent by your own merit, to answer violence by non-violence and his hate by your love. It requires great Self-Control to apply these principles.

Greed is the cause of wars. It is therefore necessary to root out this evil of greed at its very start by developing Self-Denial and Self-Control.

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Let us all practise Self-Denial, Self-Control and Self-Realization with a view to creating a vibrant, vital Spiritual Dynamic competent to inspire the Nations to achieve the goal of World Peace and International Fellowship."

After the discussion that followed the Presidential speech, the following Resolution was passed :—

"This conference appeals to all nations to send periodical embassies to establish World Peace and International Fellowship."

We wholeheartedly endorse the idea, emanating from the Conference, of holding a World Peace Conference at New Delhi in 1943. Circumstances are far from being favourable. But we know that it is in the age of destruction that a majority of men and women think of constructive peace. The Maha Bodhi Society has already decided to invite a World Peace Conference on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary in 1941. So the Ramakrishna Vivekananda Mission is thinking of convening in 1943 another Parliament of Religion in commemoration of the Fiftieth Jubilee of the memorable address of Swami Vivekananda in Chicago (1893). We appeal to all lovers of peace, therefore, to co-operate with India enabling her to apply effectively the technique of Peace and Brotherhood so as to save mankind from the ravaging disease of recurring war.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON THE ESSENTIALS OF A STABLE PEACE

President Roosevelt at a press conference gave a list of five essentials which, he said, must be realised before parmanent peace can result.

Firstly, freedom from fear so that people will not be afraid of being bombed from the air or attacked by another nation. This would require disarmament.

Secondly, freedom of information. President Roosevelt said that this was important because the whole country must be able to get news of what was going on in every part of the country and the world. He said that there could be no stable world unless there was freedom of every means of distribution of information.

Thirdly, freedom of religion. President Roosevelt observed that this was maintained fairly well under the democracies, but not in countries under other systems of Government.

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Fourthly, freedom of expression. President Roosevelt declared that every person should be free to voice his opinion so long as he does not advocate the overthrow of his Government.

Fifthly, freedom from want. President Roosevelt said that this must be accomplished by the removal of cultural and commercial barriers between nations.

President Roosevelt said that an outline of these objectives raised the question whether the United States was going to seek the five "freedoms" or encourage by lack of opposition those nations which had removed them in order to achieve somewhat more efficient government.

He frankly admitted that what he termed Corporate State or Government as maintained in Italy, Germany and Russia was more efficient than a democracy. Delays were inherent in the American system, he said, because of its system of checks and balances in legislative, executive and juridical branches.

The President revealed the reason behind his remarks when he said that he was sorry to say that a large number of Americans were willing, because of the greater efficiency of Corporate States, to adopt that form of Government. He pointed out, however, that this part of the population was not large in relation to the entire population though it represented a good many.—Reuter, July, 5.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Inspite of the complete dislocation in the Overseas mail delivery we are thankful to receive now and then valuable books and periodicals enabling us to form some idea of the world crisis. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, are sending us their publications with admirable regularity and, under most trying conditions, several other individuals and organisations are sending us their reports, bulletins, etc. We beg to express our gratitude to them hoping as ever that the curse of War will soon be lifted and that Humanity will breathe again the atmosphere of Peace and Freedom.

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NEW ASIA

It is a well-known fact that the Indian public has been showing an increasing interest in Asiatic affairs. But, unfortunately owing to the lack of well-directed supply of authentic news in India, our countrymen have been so long content with fragmentary and misleading versions of important Asian problems of the day. This state of affairs is bound to lead the Indian public to form an uncritical, second-hand idea of Indo-Asiatic relations ; and no doubt, it adversely affects the political, economic and cultural interests of India.

With a view to counteract this evil and to develop the spirit of human solidarity in our continent, the "New Asia" is started. The "New Asia" is a quarterly review which plans to make an accurate survey and unprejudiced interpretation of Asiatic affairs, based on facts and figures collected from original and authentic sources. Our journal welcomes publications for review and articles on political, economic, social and cultural problems faced by New Asia in the present time. As our journal reaches the representative thought-centres of the East and the West, the "New Asia" will function as an effective intellectual link between India and her sister-nations of the Renascent East.

The "New Asia" recognises no distinction of race, creed or political party. Its chief aim is to diffuse facts and ideas relating to our great Asiatic continent and to foster the cause of International understanding based on Justice and Truth.

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An Organ of Oriental Culture and Thought.

DECEMBER, 1940.

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NEW ASIA

Vol. II. OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1940 No. 4.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON EDUCATION

By H. I. M. Emperor Meiji

"Know ye, Our Subjects !

Our Imperial Ancestors have found our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue ; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters ; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true ; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation ; extend your benevolence to all ; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop your intellectual faculties and perfect your moral powers ; furthermore, advance your public good and promote common interests ; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws ; should any emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State ; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne, coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and subjects, infallible through all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

30th October, 1890.

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EDUCATION AND ITS PLACE IN THE PROGRAMME FOR PEACE

By **Count Hirotaro Hayashi**, D. Litt.,
Member of the House of Peers, Tokyo

Individuality itself is nothing but an abstract conception. The number twenty cannot be thought of apart from nineteen or twenty one. We consider both family and State as a community. We think of father only in relation to mother, as we think of right and left. Under normal conditions everyone is born and brought up in a family, where of necessity his education begins. The parental education accumulates, at the same time children grow more self-conscious and their individualities become increasingly concrete and vivid. Only under these reciprocal inter-relations will peace be kept in the family.

The same inference can be made about the reciprocal relations between a State and the nation. The nation exists in the strong environment of the State. In course of time it accumulates its own history; this historical development means the progress of the national ideal. A State without an ideal may be likened to a ship without a compass or rudder, unable to pursue a forward course. National education assists the people to realize an ideal of the State and to teach them to participate in the task of raising the level of the present national civilization in which they are living. The State moulds the nation ; State and nation reciprocally influence and educate each other. Still, the ideal of the State is always in advance of the nation. Only on this aspect of co-operation can peace be glimpsed.

Perhaps millions of years elapsed before the present civilization was reached. Flourishing and dark ages have preceded and followed each other. Shakespeare, Newton and Darwin were born when England was flourishing. In the dark ages of the 11th and 12th centuries, Europe had no national education ; the education of that age was under the direction of the Church, which pursued the ideal of Greek and Roman culture, having no connection with national needs. However, though it was a chaotic age, the people may have had peaceful lives, through a *dead peace*

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and without cultural significance. What we mean by peace today is in quite a different category. We need a civilized peace which is, at the same time, living and developing.

A community as such is very different from a temporary group, as for instance, a social assemblage or business company. The latter may be established by mutual agreements of the members or at any time dissolved, also with their consent. A family, however, is a unit divided, into members which cannot be separated at their will, being a natural, immutable organic whole. The same can also be said of a State which is working out its long historical development; its natural relation with the nation is strong and unbreakable. Only under these conditions can peace be attained.

In the beginning, individuality is chaotic and abstract, but as the community develops it becomes gradually more concrete, intelligent and distinct. As long as the community has a close mutual connection with its members in a moral sense, a peaceful existence can be expected.

In ancient times certain groups of families such as clans or tribes, led very peaceful lives in their own groups and often the natural order of existence was harmonious. But as history shows, there was always fighting and strife between these clans or tribes. Even at the present time the aborigines in Formosa, Australia, the Philippines and in other parts of the globe are constantly at war with each other. And we also have the present-day phenomena of armed peace!

Communities are growing and developing towards their goal—their administrations tend to keep internal peace. We are obliged to keep harmony within our States, but externally the nations are always competing with one another. If the balance of power is not sustained, war may break out at any time. How does this occur?

Men as individuals have many instincts or original tendencies which are innate, such as less seeking food, anger and fear as protective instincts, fighting, imitation, acquisition and possession (also stealing) and the social instincts such as gregariousness, mastery and submission, and others too numerous to mention.

The survival of the fittest, race-preservation and the struggle for existence are inevitable laws of the animal kingdom, and it is quite natural to see that ego-centric acts prevail in the primitive stages of culture. Even nowadays our lives are still dominated by these fundamental instincts. The philosophy of Hobbes (1588-1679) was one of naturalism. In a

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selection entitled "State of Nature" found in his well-known work "Leviathan", he says that "men lived in a state of universal war" in primitive times. Human life was utterly isolated, beast-like and bigoted. Men are all born in equality and everyone has equal liberty *(jus naturale)*. In order to avoid struggle, a law of nature *(lex naturalis)* appeared in society. The principle of this law of nature is to prohibit actions injurious to natural existence. The spirit of the law is to seek for the way of peace.

John Locke (1632-1704) has just the opposite opinion; he maintains that men in their primitive natural existence lived not in a state of universal war, but peacefully, according to a law of nature. Both of these points of view are rather eccentric. In a land where plenty of food can be obtained, there lives should be easy, and under these favourable circumstances war is not necessary for the preservation of life. Where the land is restricted and over-populated, the struggle for existence will naturally take place. Almost the same thing is happening in the world today. Some years after the Great War, everyone hated war. But once more we are feeling the same menace.

The egoistic instinct is very strong and tends to express itself, if it has a good opportunity. The individual must adapt himself to his environment for his existence and almost the same thing applies to the State. A State desires to survive and it is quite natural for it to endeavour to keep the strongest, fittest type of existence.

Still a growing State becomes more and more organic and gradually more civilized and enlightened. An organic whole is the goal of the State and nations grow towards a closer mutual connection. On the other hand, a declining State tends to decompose and its organic unity becomes more easily destroyed. In flourishing times peace can promote the level of national morality. If patriotism develop in a normal way, we can transmute this sympathetic feeling into international philanthropism.

As long as the egoistic instincts prevail, the individual is egoistic and self-seeking, and it is then natural that a State composed of such inhabitants has grasping and self-seeking tendencies. While States exist in this world with different interests, they will probably come into collision with each other. Consequently, we see that the problem of international peace depends on the promotion of individuality developed by sound national education. Education must start in the family; then through national education a sound, moderate patriotic feeling should be cherished. We can transfer this sympathetic feeling to the broader field of philanthropism.

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Herbert Spencer (born 1820) dreamed of a Utopia. He thought that if civilization progressed, the interests of the people would gradually coincide with each other and then in the highest stage, an absolute peace could be reached—in other words, a state of equilibrium. We cannot agree with him. Most of the instincts of mankind are self-seeking and self-preserving. Therefore, when our moral sense develops, the opposing ego-centric forces come into collision with it. Shall we crush down these egoistic instincts before we lead children to a higher grade of morality? No! The inborn human energies are precious. We must preserve the psychic forces in their entirety. The whole secret is to change or transmute the direction to higher and nobler tendencies. How is it possible? For instance, the fighting instinct can be transmuted to a more abstract moral struggle. In the school, for instance, it can be changed to emulation, the desire to secure a prize or attain a higher standing in examinations or sports. In such a way we should promote the egoistic motives to loftier ones and so by dialectic means we shall elevate these forces to the level of better qualities. As long as we keep our natural faculties and do not allow them to escape, we can ultilize them.

From the above we can come to our conclusion. We do not aim at the goal of eternal peace, such as the Utopia of Spencer. Absolute tranquility is just like the stagnant waters of a pool—it is simply a dead peace. Because we work during the day, we can better enjoy ourselves in the evening. When we grow accustomed to day after day of pleasure, it ceases to please and becomes a great weariness and torment. As long as we are competing, we are developing our culture. No rivalry, no progress! The same thing can also be said of international relations. So will world civilization progress. *Absolute* peace will never come. We need an active, unfolding living peace.

We start with family education. National education leads its pupils to participate in the task of promoting their national culture to a higher level. Patriotic education should not be too one-sided and exclusive, for then it is likely to grow into narrow fanaticism and Chauvinism. Even a strong State cannot survive alone—"give and take"must be the golden rule. National culture cannot reach the stage of world culture without inter-communication.

Besides the egoistic instincts there are social instincts in the better sense. Of course, the former are the stronger of the two; therefore, the sympathetic altruistic tendencies must be guided and encouraged from childhood. "Making character" means principally the fostering of good habits. Usually children dislike snakes but if we teach them that these

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creatures are most useful to the farmer beacuse they are very clever in catching field mice and other vermin, then gradually an altruistic feeling in the child is fostered. Also sports and games in schools are very important to cultivate and engender this feeling of sympathy and fair play.

Sportsmanship embraces many of these altruistic traits. From every point of view national education should endeavour to suggest to its pupils that they must contribute something to world civilization through such channels as science, education, industry, trade, etc. Besides this national education, religious teaching will be of great help in causing the growth of sympathetic motives.

International relations have as their objects the formation of an organic whole, but such a realization is in the distant future. The first thing to avoid is war. Such temporary formal means as the International Congress of Disarmament and The League of Nations, etc., are of course important things but the fundamental work lies in the education of the individual. We should not look for the effect only, we must investigate the true cause. Education is slow, but we can steadfastly plant it in the minds of the coming generations. We agree with Professor Wundt that higher motives conquer the lower ones in the moral field and to so endeavour is worth while. By means of education we hope the time will soon come to abolish war.

By courtesy of the World Conference Committee of the Japanese Education Association, Tokyo, Japan.

Ōzutsu no Hibiki taete Yomo no umi
Yorokobi no koe Itsu ka kikoen.

O, when will the boom of guns
Have an end,
And shouts of jubilation everywhere
From the four seas ascend?

Emperor Meiji.

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EDITORIAL

The year 1940 is famous in Japanese history marking, as it does, the 50th anniversary of two memorable events in the life of the Japanese nation : On the 11th of February, 1889, Emperor Meiji set his sign-manual to the Preamble of the famous Japanese Constitution which came to function from the 29th November, 1890 with the opening of Japan's first Parliament. Commentaries to that Constitution were written by no less a person than Prince Hirobumi Ito who was one of the real makers of modern Japan. The ship of the Constitution had to weather many storms; the first Sino-Japanese War, the fateful Russo-Japanese War (costing Russia alone £ 187,000,000), the World War of 1914, the Manchurian incident of 1931-32 and the Second Sino-Japanese War of 1937, each coming to test the Constitution. It may appear to have survived the shocks at this year of its 50th Jubilee and the Japanese people are looking ahead of these abnormal days of War and destruction towards a New Order in eastern Asia through Sino-Japanese collaboration. That would be the acid test of the constitutional stability of Japan and the pointer to her political sagacity as a great nation of New Asia, harmonizing her claims with those of her sister nations.

The benign Emperor Meiji will also be remembered thankfully this year for the famous Imperial Rescript on Education (Kyoiku Chokugo) issued on the 30th of October, 1890. Through it the Emperor attempted to impart the teaching bequeathed by his Imperial Ancestors to be observed alike by their descendants and subjects. It breathed a rare spirit of Asokan Buddhism when it ordained : "Bear yourselves in modesty and moderation ; extend your benevolence to all." Along with this prophetic voice of antiquity we listen to the remarkable modern note in Emperor Meiji's admonitions : "Pursue learning and cultivate arts and thereby develop your intellectual faculties and perfect your moral powers; furthermore, advance your public good and promote common interest ; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws ; should any emergency arise offer yourselves courageously to the State and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial throne, coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good faithful subjects but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers."

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Emperor Meiji was a real Father to his people and, as we know, he was also a real poet. Like a father he addressed his people : "Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true," almost echoing the words of Emperor Asoka. To be blessed with such a message and by such a ruler is as much a privilege as a responsibility and the Japanese people are realizing it specially this year in which, by a striking coincidence, fall the 26th Centennial of the Japanese Empire and the 50th Jubilee of two of the noblest events of its political and cultural life. As early as February, 1889 Emperor Meiji in his Preamble to the Constitution referred in unmistakable terms to his desire "to promote the welfare of and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilence of Our Ancestors." We hope these expectations will be fulfilled as we offer our congratulations to the nation on these happy commemorations.

Hisakata no Sora wa hedatemo Nakarikeri
Tsuchi naru kuni wa Sakai aredomo.

The wide blue sky no barriers has,
Nor any bound,
Although on earth the countries all
Make frontiers to divide the ground.

Emperor Meiji.

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CULTURE AND LIFE OF THE JAPANESE NATION

By Hasegawa-Nyozekan, Tokyo.

I. Culture in Actual Life

That every nation has a specific culture of its own can hardly be gainsaid. Yet, there are nations sharing a common cultural tradition on account of their common cultural origin. Naturally these present a striking cultural resemblance among them. The nations of present-day Europe constitute the best example of this. Sharing as they do the same Greco-Roman origin for their respective cultures, they cannot but trace all the outstanding characteristics of these to that common source, irrespective of such secondary cultural traits as the Latin or Teuton, Continental or Insular. The case of Japan, however, stands by itself. Historically, it is true, the culture of Japan is a part and parcel of the culture of the Oriental continent, so much so that the present-day Japanese culture would not have been what it is but for its strong connections with the sources of continental culture.

Still, Japan assimilated the continental culture, after it was introduced here, to such an extent that it would hardly any more resemble its continental ncouterpart. Moreover, Japan had already an indigenous culture of her own, which had no need to look to the continent for its origin. Both these cultures, the indigenous and the continental, were developed side by side on the Japanese soil, equally freely and without external constraint.

The success of the Japanese nation in this respect can be attributed to the persistent working of a fundamental principle which does not permit of estrangement between culture and actual life, and to which also goes the credit for the creation, modification and development of the Japanese culture. Consequently, culture in Japan, although flowing from the upper strata of society to the lower, has invariably been based on the common sentiment and consciousness of the entire nation, whereas in China or the European countries, it has been the exclusive property of the upper classes only. In other words, culture to the Japanese means the perfection and advancement of a man's mind and character with a

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full accord between the external form of conduct and its internal motive. This is attainable only when culture is rooted in the actual life of the people. To whatever high degree of refinement, therefore, a specific culture may have attained, the Japanese find it hard to regard it essential, if it transcends the actual life, or is estranged from it, as were the cultures of India, China and ancient Europe.

The Japanese culture, however, as mentioned before, has ever been rooted in the actual life of the people, particularly in the common consciousness of the whole nation. And the chief credit for this goes to the fact that, over a long period—since pre-historic ages right up to the introduction of the Chinese ideographs—spoken language instead of written documents was the repository of culture in Japan. Owing to the ease and universality associated with the spoken language, the Japanese culture, under whatever form it assumed according to the age, (there have been various forms such as the culture of the nobles, the culture of the samurai, or the culture of the merchant class), could never be estranged from the actual life of the nation at large, being firmly rooted as it was in the common consciousness of the whole nation. Then there were also forms of foreign cultures which refused to be acclimatized, and which were exclusively patronized by certain particular sections of the Japanese society. These had of course their moorings, not in the common sentiment and common consciousness of the Japanese nation, but in foreign climates and foreign soils. As such these were never identified with the Japanese national culture, and were known as "cultures from abroad."

II. Culture in Spoken Language

Before the importation of the Chinese script, Japan had highly developed an art, that of oral narration, through which knowledge of history, literature, etc., was transmitted from mouth to mouth among the people. At the Imperial Court there were the *Kataribe,* official narrators, who did the oral narration, in a common family the house mistress usually did it, which tradition maintained itself until quite recently. This tradition of ancient days attained to the height of national literature during the Heian period, which produced an unfailingly fine specimen in the form of the wellknown *Genji-Monogatari.* Later in the feudal period of the middle ages the *Heike-Monogatari, Taiheiki,* etc., evinced a tendency to combine the Chinese literary style but without giving up the original emphasis to keep to the native oral style. As a result they were written

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so that their contents could be sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments even by the blind who made this their profession as street singers. The style known as *"Shichi-go-cho"* (7-5 syllabic metres) also was evolved during the same age, and under the same circumstances. In this way the contents of the national literature acquired a tradition among the common people.

Thus knowledge of history and literature was diffused among the Japanese people through the medium of oral narration. But later, with the introduction of Chinese ideographs, records came to be kept of these by some upper class people who used the ideographs by way of mere phonetic script to express the orally established ancient language. However, these documents became oblivious with the permeation of the Chinese literature among the upper classes, with the result that very few could tell the original phonetic pronunciation of the early ideographs. Therefore, at the time of compilation of the *Kojiki*, the oldest record of events in Japanese history, the Imperial Court had to invite a lower class female court official, who was well-versed in the histories orally transmitted among the noble families, and make her learn to read the histroical documents already transcribed with the help of Chinese ideographs, according to their originally intended pronunciation, after which the actual work on the compilation of the book was said to be undertaken. Again, very few could read the original text of the *Manyoshu* or the *Genji-Monogatari*, and yet, thanks to the highly developed art of oral narration, even the lower classes of people were well acquainted with their verses and contents. This art of oral narration, or broadly speaking, culture in the spoken language, which had flourished in Japan since pre-histroric ages, was not only a medium through which a culture of a high order could be transmitted to the lowest classes, but it also served as a means to unify the whole nation integrating its mode of life in both political and economic fields, which in turn contributed to the creation and development of a homogeneous national culture.

III. Four Culture Traits

Four specific traits characterize the Japanese culture. They are : 1. To simplify what is complicated and subtle ; 2. To change the unnatural into natural ; 3. To transform the quantitative into the qualitative and 4. To change the abstract into the concrete. These can be better illustrated by reviewing the process of importation of Chinese culture into Japan and how she subjected it to a further process of adaptation and modification.

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(1) The first Chinese paintings that came to Japan were characterised by their gaudiness of colour and subtlety of lines. But these were later developed into the *Yamatoye* paintings, which are noted for their lightness of colour and simplicity of lines, which lent them a touch of delicacy and warmth. This was essentially due to the first trait of the Japanese culture, i. e. the tendency to simplify what is complicated, or to replace subtlety with purity.

(2) According to the Western concept, culture must be the antithesis of nature ; and the more it inclines to transcend nature, the higher is its order. China also shares this tendency of the West, although the Chinese masses have a culture of their own which may be said to be compatible with nature. For instance, the tea ceremony, which best symbolizes the Japanese culture, was regarded in China as an elaborate ritual practised only among the nobles and persons of high dignity, in the gorgeous halls of lordly mansions and temples, but which on coming to Japan in the Ashikaga period (1336—1573) at once underwent a change in every respect, and the highly complicated ceremonial of the Chinese tea ceremony became pleasingly artistic in Japan. It no more remained confined to a select few as in China, but became a practice among all classes of the nation. Even the gorgeous mansions and temples were dispensed with in favour of plain and utterly simplified tea ceremony houses. These houses, again, were usually surrounded by a beautiful garden as if an extention of the external nature, while inside the garden itself was projected into the simplest form of flower arrangement, displayed on the *tokonoma* or alcove, to the accompaniment of a scroll of painting or calligraphy on the wall, fittingly in accord with the prevailing season. Accordingly, this could not but enable the host and the guests to enter into perfect harmony with the surrounding nature. However, this is not to justify the wholesale incorporation of culture in nature or *vice versa*. This only means to assert that the Way of Culture and the Way of Nature are nothing but harmoniously one, and that out of this harmony, the true universal life comes to circulate and function, in the simplest but most refind manner.

Ikebana, Japanese flower arrangement, also illustrates the same truth The view that the true beauty of *Ikebana* lies in its technique is not correct. It lies in the master's skill in bringing the Way of Flower perfectly to accord with the Way of Nature, of which he is supposed to have made an exhaustive study.

This trait of Japanese culture, i. e. to assert the oneness of culture and nature, has an important bearing upon the socialization of culture in

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Japan. *Ikebana* which, like the tea ceremony, was a study associated with complicated ceremonial intricacies in China, to be appreciated only by the few, came to this country only to become natural and practised by all classes of the nation, finally becoming an integral part of Japan's national culture. Again, it was owing to this trait that culture of a high order like the *Genji-Monogatari* or *Mannyoshu*, tea ceremony or *Ikebana*, has been completely socialized so as to appeal even to the keen sense of modern people. In this sense the terms, culturalization, naturalization, socialization, nationalization or humanization are synonymous to the Japanese. And this is due to the fact that in Japan culture is inseparable from the practical life of the people.

Accordingly, as culture in Japan flowed from the upper classes to the lower, so also at times it radiated from the lower classes to the higher. In ancient times it was the court nobles from whom the national culture started to permeate the whole nation including even the lowest classes, but since the beginning of the middle ages it took an upward turn, from the lower to reach the aristocracy. For example, the composition of *renga*, "link-poem", in ancient days, was a pastime exclusively for the court nobles. At the beginning of the middle ages members of the merchant class grasped only the upper portion of the *renga*, and turned it into that exquisite poetic form known as *haiku*, the five-seven-five syllabic metres, which later on came to be composed by all classes, including the samurai and court nobles, and even made its entry at the Imperial Court where Emperor Gominoo (1596-1680) is recorded to have composed some perfect ones.

(3) An important trait of Japanese culture is its emphasis on the qualitative rather than the quantitative. The Chinese, Indian, Egyptian and modern European or American cultures tend, as they devolep, to be dominated by the quantitative. But the Japanese culture, like the ancient Greek, inclines to the refinement of the qualitative even at the cost of the quantitative.

Chinese architecture has a grandeur of its own, but their handling of its material lacks a certain refinement. On coming to Japan the architecture of China lost some of its grandeur, but it developed fresh artistic values and attained to high degree of refinement, as can be proved from the delicate lines of the Horyuji Temple. This trait of Japanese culture, viz. to prefer the qualitative to the quantitative, should be regarded as a fundamental characteristic of the whole Japanese nation.

(4) Another trait of Japanese culture is to change the abstract into the concrete. With the advent of Confucianism the Confucian

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Analects also came to this country and were very much appreciated. The reason is to be associated with the fact that, instead of dealing with conceptual or abstract theories, they dealt with morals and ethics as revealed through conduct. In China itself the original Confucianism lost its hold on the actual life of the people during the Sung dynasty, and became more and more abstract, ultimately transformed into a scholastic philosophy. But in Japan the Analects not only retained their practical hold on the life of the nation, but also contributed, together with the learning of the Sung period which came to Japan with the Zen sect during the Kamakura period, to the formation of a practical code for the samurai class. Thus they were shorn of all their scholasticism.

The same may be said regarding Japanese religion. When Buddhism came to Japan about the end of the 6th century, it was a monopoly of the upper class, and naturally very scholastic, which it remained until the end of the Heian period. But so far as it continued to develop along scholastic lines, it could not become the religion of the common people. Only when religious geniuses like Honen Shinran, Nichiren, etc., arose during the Kamkura period, and purified Buddhism of its superfluous scholasticism, restoring it to its pristine glory, so intuitively appreciable, could Buddhism truly become the religion of the common people.

Thus, whatever culture might come from foreign lands, it had to be modified and refashioned into the genuine Japanese culture under the influnce of these characteristic traits, before it could permeate all the higher and lower classes of the nation.

The nation-wide diffusion of culture in Japan seems to be primarily due to the homogeneity of the Japanese language since pre-historic days, as mentioned above. But it is also due to the simplicity of the *kana*-writing. While the development of the Sanskrit and Roman alphabets extends over a long period, the *kana*-writing is said to have been invented and developed by Kobo Daishi and a few others during a short period, with Sanskrit pronunciation for its model, transforming Chinese ideographs into the 48 phonetic alphabets. Accordingly, the tenth century saw literature in Japan in *kana* characters, the *Genji-Monogatari* being entierly written in that script. Thus, owing to the uniformity of language and the simplicity of script, culture could be diffused in all classes of this country. Kobo-Daishi's invention of the *kana* writing, and his great culture activities as a religious leader as well as a mass educator, bear evidence to the fact that Japanese cultural leaders did not allow foreign cultures promiscuously to infiltrate the land, but took great pains to

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adapt and modify them to suit the national and social aptitudes of the Japanese people in their concrete life.

IV. Culture in Self-Restraint

The consummation of a process of necessary acclimatization of foreign cultures and the development of a native culture have been due to an important trait of the Japanese mind prompting them to restrain the implusive side of their nature in order to sublimate it to the ideal form. On this point the culture of Japan differs from that of China, Egypt or the West, the development of which has been dependent primarily upon the unrestricted play of instincts and impulses. Accordingly, the Japanese may excel in the use of technique, but it would be out of place to expect them to produce some gigantic work comparable to the Pyramids of Egypt, the Great Wall of China or the American sky-scrapers. Instead, one may quite naturally expect the Japanese to turn out exquisite forms of art, such as are found in the purely Japanese architecture like the Shinto shrines, Japanese paintings, swords, etc., in which one may note the transformation of quantity into quality, through the subjection of natural instincts and impulses to the achievement of the ideal form.

The trait of self-restraint in the Japanese culture is best manifested in the rules associated with the tea ceremony, which became popular among the samurai and merchant classes from the Ashikaga period. The Japanese tea ceremony is not a mere hobby of a personal character through the exercise of self-restraint. For this reason the samurai class who encouraged tea ceremony regarded its practice equally indispensable with that of the martial arts. In a tea ceremony house a samurai had to treat the members of the merchant class as socially his equals, although outside the social disparity between them was appalling, the samurai being so far superior to the merchant. The rules of tea ceremony, moreover, forbade a samurai to carry arms inside the tea ceremony room. That a samurai who regarded the sword as his very soul and would, therefore, not part with it on any account, should leave it outside before entering the room and participate with members of the merchant class, otherwise socially inferior to him, in performing the tea ceremony, speaks eloquently for the stress placed on the cultivation of self-restraint in Japanese culture.

The system of national education in Japan, incidentally, is fundamentally rooted in this stress upon the cultivation of self-restraint. On

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the one hand, self-restraint has given rise in the Japanese mentality to such traits as conventionalism, mediocrity or reservedness. But on the other hand it is to this very self-restraint that the characteristic Japanese sense of loyalty, obedience to authority or sociol decorum owe their origin. Consequently, cultural refinement in Japan means the consummation of mind and character through self-restraint over natural instincts and impulses.

V. Compatibility of Motive and Form

The Japanese culture aims at the compatibility of the motive and its external form, and emphasis upon the one at the expense of the other is regarded as inconsistent with its spirit. It conforms neither to the principle of "Art for art's sake", nor to that of "Righteousness for righteousness' sake." The expression of an ethical motive according to the rules of propriety is considered good ; manifestation of physical might through artistic form as strong. The lack of appropriate from is considered vulgar, and the absence of right inner motive as false. These two phases have ever been mutually sustaining, and the Japanese culture has been able to develop itself through their mutual sustenance. Thus, tea ceremony, *Ikebana*, the No play, etc,. have been diffused among the people as so many means to cultivate the mind and these in their turn have been developed by highly cultivated minds.

In China, Confucianism also did not fail to lay emphasis on the compatibility of motive and its expression, as is evident from the importance given to *Li* (decorum), but there it remained confined only to the higher classes of society, leaving the masses quite untouched. In Japan however, Confucianism obtained a stronghold mainly because it was allowed to permeate all classes of the nation, who, accordingly to their characteristic trait of achieving compatibility of motive and form of conduct assimilated it into the native Japanese culture, to the development of which it has contributed quite considerably.

This compatibility was especially stressed in the education of the samurai, which included side by side with the vigorous training in the martial arts such subject as Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism, tea ceremony, the No play, etc,. for the cultivation of right mind and right form of conduct. Even the martial arts were not designed merely to develop the physique. but served also at the same time as a means for character

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building. This fact is borne out as much by the artistic quality of the samurai's weapons as by the basic forms of the martial arts. These basic forms of martial arts have been awarded the same aesthetic value as a No play or a dance performance. The weapons themselves such as swords, armour, helmets, etc., were valued as much for their artistic value as for their sound utility. Thus, great care was taken, in the education of samurai, to produce a man of character, culture and enlightenment rather than a mere strong fighter. In this sense, the education of the samurai offers the best example to indicate the guiding principle of Japanese education at large.

VI. Inseparability of the Whole and Its Parts

If one is to be acquainted with the culture of Japan, let him seek it in the life of the Japanese nation itself. It is not confined to the field of fine arts, such as music, drama, painting, literature, etc. Nor is it the property of an exclusive group of *elites* ; but it is there right in the midst of the common people.

Let him who will, attend the performance of *rakugo*, *kodan* or dramatic plays, all institutions for popular amusement, and there he will find that these are not merely forms of popular diversion, but so many social agencies for the education and character building of the people.

Every detail of Japanese life is calculated, so to speak, to carry some value for the cultivation of personality, and yet a detail is never praised for itself, its value being always determined in relation to the whole. This view of appreciating the details in their relation to the whole is one of the greatest characteristics of the Japanese culture. Taking for example a picture, which in the West is considered good once it is fitted into an appropriate frame and valued only from an aesthetic view point. In Japan, however, a picture is considered good only when it accords perfectly with the spirit of the garden around that room and even with the prevailing season, and the mood of the spectators and surroundings, besides its aesthetic value.

Consequently, this stress on the harmonization of the parts with the whole they comprise only proves that every form of culture has permeated the daily life of all classes of the nation. Further, that it has been retained by them and developed among them. And it is in this sense, therefore, that the Japanese culture can truly be called a national culture.

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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A. (Cal.) D.Litt. (Paris).

Historical and Archaeological Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

"When I was at sea last August, on my voyage to this country, which I had long desired to visit, I found one evening, on inspecting the observations of the day, that India lay before us, and Persia on our left, whilst a breeze from Arabia blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing in itself, and to me so new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accustomed to contemplate with delight the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this eastern world. It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of Asia, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men. I could not help remarking, how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved; and when I considered, with pain, that, in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, such inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many, who are not easily brought, without some pressing inducement or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that if in any country or community, such an union conld be effected, it was among my countrymen in Bengal, with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted."

—Sir William Jones

In October 1783 a distinguished English Scholar, Sir William Jones (1746-1794), landed in Calcutta to act as a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William in Bengal. A worthy contemporary of Goethe, Rousseau and the French Encyclopædists Sir William brought an encyclopædic mind to bear upon the problem of intellectual co-operation between the East and the West. In sharp contrast to the pathetic pretension to omniscience about things Oriental displayed by our Western visitors of to-day, Sir William Jones showed an eagerness to learn and a

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humility that a genius such as he alone is capable of. Within the short span of ten years from his landing in Calcutta, he laid the foundation of the new science of *Indology* ; and yet he ever sighed, with divine discontent, because of "the fluctuating, imperfect and limited erudition of life". Through his exertions a meeting was held on the 15th of January 1784, attended by the *elite* of the European community of Calcutta : Sir Robert Chambers, the Chief Justice, as Chairman, Henry Vansittart ; Sir John Shore ; Sir Charles Wilkins and others, who became the founders of the *Asiatick Society* and principal contributors to the pages of the Society's *Transactions*. On that occasion Sir William Jones had the honour of opening the proceedings with a learned "Discourse on the Institution of a Society for enquiring into the History, Civil and Natural, the Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia."

> You will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabric of nature ; will correct the geography of Asia by new observations and discoveries ; will trace the annals and even traditions of those nations who, from time to time, have peopled or desolated it ; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions, civil and religious; you will examine their improvments and methods in arithmetic and geometry, in trigonometry, mensuration, mechanics, optics, astronomy and general physics ; their systems of morality, grammer, rhetoric and dialectic ; their skill in chirurgery and medicine ; and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chemistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade ; and whilst you enquire into their music, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not neglect those inferior arts, by which comforts, and even elegances of social life are supplied or improved.

An *Encyclopædia Asiatica* of Asiatic Arts and Sciences has not yet been un- dertaken but if it should ever be attempted it should carry as its emblem the noble words quoted above from the prophetic inaugural address of Sir William Jones.

At the second meeting of the Society, Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General, was requested to accept the office of President which honour he promptly refused with shrewd observations, agreeing, however, to be the parton of the Society, yielding his "pretensions to the gentleman whose genius planned the Institution and is most capable of conducting it to the attainment of the great and splendid purposes of its formation". Thus Sir William Jones was elected the First President of the Society on the 5th of February, 1784, and held that office till his death on the 27th April, 1794.* That was a decade of unique achievements followed by

*Sir William Jones—(1746-1794), d. 1794, April 27. Buried in the "whitewashed pyramid" in the old South Park Street Cemetery. It bears the following noble epitaph written by himself : "Here was deposited the mortal part of a man who feared God, but not death, who thought none below him but the base and the unjust, none above him but the wise and virtuous."

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the development of a truly international study,—that of Indo-European linguistics and antiquities. Three centuries ago Vasco da Gama discovered the new geographical route to India and, on the celebration of the tricentenary as it were of that great discovery, the cultural route to the soul of India and the Orient was discovered dy Sir William Jones and his learned colleagues.

The Sanskrit *Panchatantra* had already reached Europe through Pehlavi, Hebrew, Arabic, Latin and German translations. Two of the *Satakas of Bhartrihari* had also been translated into the Dutch language by the Dutch missionary Abraham Roger who worked in Paliakatta (North of Madras) in 1630 and published a voluminous work : "Open door to the Hidden Paganism." In the early eighteenth century there were literary forgeries and aberrations like the so-called "Ezour-Veda" ; but an intrepid explorer like the French Anquetil Duperron had already discovered *Avestan Texts*, which he started translating in 1772, and further published in 1805 a translation of the *Upanishads* from the Persian version of Prince Dara Sheko, the great grandson of Akbar. Sir Charles Wilkins (1750-1833) was the first Englishman to acquire proficiency in Sanskrit and to publish a grammar of that language in 1779 ; he completed a translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita* and published it in 1785 under the patronage of Warren Hastings. Sir William Jones had illustrious predecessors and successors. His translation of the ordinances of *Manu*, of the *Gita Govinda* and above all of *Sakuntala* marked an epoch in the history of Oriental studies. The second President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was Sir John Shore, the real author of the Permanent Settlement. The next great scholar was H. T. Colebrooke (1765-1837) who by his many-sided genius enriched the science of Indology as a President of the Society, writing on Sanskrit grammar, Hindu law and philosophy, on the Vedas and on mathematical subjects, finally emerging as the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1823).

A new turn to the activities of the Society was given by its illustrious Secretary Dr. H. H. Wilson (1784-1860). He reached Calcutta in 1808 as a Medical Officer of the East India Company and served the Asiatic Society for over twenty years (1811-1833) as the Secretary. He became famous by his beautiful translation of the *Megha-duta* (1813) followed by his *Theatre of the Hindus* and his Sanskrit-English Dictionary. About a century ago (1833) he was offered the newly founded Boden Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford and consequently left the Asiatic Society in the charge of another great antiquarian, James Prinsep (1799-1840), and his first time *Native Secretary*, Babu Ramkamal Sen, the grandfather of the

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great reformer and orator, Keshab Chandra Sen. In January 1829 Dr. Wilson proposed the name of some native scholars who were elected members without opposition and within fifty years of the foundation of the Society, with the election of Dewan Ramkamal Sen, the principle came to be accepted that persons of all nations shall be eligible as members of the Society; and very soon, two eminent scholars, Sir Radhakant Deb Bahadur and Professor Bapudeva Sastri were elected Honorary members along with other distinguished European savants.

Starting its career in 1784 as the "Asiatick Society" it was offered in 1829 the privilege of being affiliated to the newly founded Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; and in that connection the name "Asiatick Society of Bengal" was first used, although the Society did not accept the change. When Mr. James Prinsep started the Journal in 1832 on his own account, he was not authorised either to use the title "Asiatick Society of Bengal," which came to be accepted only when the journal became the property of the Society in 1843.

That brings to our mind one of the most important services rendered by the Society through its publications which may be classified into: (1) Periodicals embodying the researches of the scholars; (2) original Hindu or Muhammadan texts; (3) translations of texts; and (4) separate research memoirs or monographs. Sir William Jones contemplated the publications of a volume every year entitled *Asiatick Miscellany* but, owing to unforeseen difficulties, regular publications of the Annual could not be guaranteed and the first volume appeared only in 1788 with the title *Asiatick Researches.*

In the very first volume we find papers by Charles Wilkins on the Mongyr Copperplate grant and on the Buddal Pillar with the remarks of Sir William Jones. There was also an account of the sculptures and ruins of the Pallava capital, *Mahavalipuram*, as well as translations of inscriptions on the Pillars of Firoz Shah, by Radhakant Sarman. Thus the scholars of the East and the West started the career of a most fruitful and friendly collaboration. Between 1788 to 1839 twenty volumes of Asiatick Researches were published and the popularity of some of the earlier volumes was so great that a "Pirated Edition" was published in England in 1798, and the demand for the volume from the Continent being very urgent a French translation with the necessary corrections was published in two volumes under the title of *Researches Asiatiques* (Paris, 1805). The French editor characterised the volume as "La plus riche collection de faits qui existe sur l'Inde, ce pays qui attire les premiers regards de ceux qui veulent étudier l'histoire des hommes."

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That shows the great enthusiasm about things Indian prevailing in Paris at that epoch, and we remember that Mr. Alexander Hamilton, an English officer from India and a Sanskritist, was detained as a prisoner of war and was giving lessons in Sanskrit to cultured circles in Paris amongst whom we find the remarkable German writer F. Schlegel. The French people have always been deeply interested in the Orient; Anquetil Duperron published his translation of the *Upanishads* of Dara Sheko in 1805 and ten years after, in 1815, the first Chairs for Sanskrit and Chinese languages were established in the Collège de France. Chézy was the first incumbent of the Chair of Sanskrit to whom Goethe, shortly before his death, communicated his prose rhapsody on *Sakuntala*. It was in Paris again that Bopp studied Sanskrit (1828) just as Max Müller did (1843) under Burnouf, completing the magic circle of Indo-European studies, starting from Calcutta with Sir William Jones, passing through Paris and Berlin back to Oxford where Dr. Wilson was welcomed as the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit in 1833 and where Max Müller would complete his monumental edition of the *Rig Veda Samhita*.

From 1829 Captain Herbert was publishing a Monthly under the name of *Gleanings of Science*, in his individual capacity, for the Society lost all its little savings by the failure in 1828 of Messrs. Palmer & Co., who were its agents. The King of Oudh made a munificent donation of Rs. 25,000 which was deposited with Messrs. Mackintosh and Co., but they in their turn failed in 1833, depriving the Society of its entire cash balance! Luckily in 1834 an old member of the Society, Mr. Bruce, left a bequest of £2,000 to the Society which was invested in Government Securities to which was added, in 1875, a big sum received as compensation from the Gevernment in lieu of claims the Society had for accommodation in the Indian Museum Buildings.

On the retirement of Dr. Wilson (1833), Mr. James Prinsep came to pilot the Society during its most difficult days. He came to India at the age of twenty as the assistant Assay-Master at the Calcutta Mint under Dr. Wilson, and after serving a few years in Benares returned to Calcutta in 1830. In March, 1832, he changed the *Gleanings of Science* into the monthly *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. In that journal he was on the one hand publishing scientific papers on the Transit of Mercury, on the expansion of Gold, Silver and Copper, and on a compensation barometer invented by him. On the other hand he was not only publishing valuable papers on Indology but soon gained immortality by deciphering the *Asokan Inscriptions* of the third century B. C. A new generation of workers came to co-operate with Mr. Prinsep to open

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new fields of Asiatic research : Dr. Buchanan writing on the statistical survey of Dinajpur, Mr. B. H. Hodgson communicating valuable papers on Nepal and on the hill tribes of the Himalayas and of the Burmese jungles, and lastly the great Hungarian explorer and linguist Mr. Csoma de Körös who was supported with an allowance of fifty rupees per month from 1830 to 1843 for the publication of his Tibetan Grammar and Dictionary. From this time the Society began to collect Tibetan and Chinese manuscripts (xylographs) of which the former numbered 256 and the latter 350 volumes. Moreover, the miscellaneous collection of about 125 Burmese, Siamese, Javanese and Singalese manuscripts testify, if not to a constructive research programme for Asiatic Culture, at least to an attempt to prepare the ground for the same, with an intuitive appreciation of the value of the study of Indian antiquities with reference to the documents of GREATER INDIA and other cultural zones of the Orient. Every one must admire the Society's scheme of *Bibliotheca Asiatica*, *Bibliotheca Indica*, the collection of epigraphic, numismatic and archæological documents with a view to build up a great Asiatic Museum, no less than the valuable researches in the domain of history, literature, palæography, art and archæology, as well as in the domain of mathematical, physical and natural science : astronomy, geology, zoology, botany, geography, ethnology etc. Those varied and learned contributions were classified and presented to us by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, by Dr. A. F. Hoernle and Baboo P. N. Bose, three distinguished savants of the East and the West, happily collaborating to produce a magnificent survey of the activities of the Society (1784-1883) as the best memento of its *first centenary*. This work was nobly carried further afield by great scholars of the next generation like MM. Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, Prof. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan and others, continuing the glorious tradition.

The half a century just completed, from 1883-1933, shows, however, a record not so much of bold excursions into "fresh fields and pastures new," as of an ordered march along the path of conservation and stock-taking of things already explored. While the Society had the privilege of publishing the valuable archæological reports and articles of General Alexander Cunningham, that work of recording and publishing the latest archæological finds was taken up by the Central Government through a separate *Department of Archæology*. So, while the Society published the earlier papers of Mr. George A. Grierson on *Maithili* and early *Bengali* texts, his main contributions came to be published in the *Linguistic Survey of India*.

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The Society was offerd in the early nineteenth century, a few original stones from Java and even a few Javanese manuscripts, but its interest did not grow that way and it was left far behind in *Indonesian studies* by the Dutch savants who had the honour of starting (April, 1778) the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, another Oriental Society in Batavia, a few years earlier than the Society in Bengal. The Dutch scholars opened a new chapter of Asiatic history through the publications of the Batavian Society and of the Royal Institute of The Hague, of the great Dutch pioneers like Kern Brandes, Krom, Juynboll, Vogel, Bosch and others.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal had the privilege of aiding the publication of *Dictionarium Annamettico-Latinum* by A. G. L. Tabard and to collect also a few Siamese manuscripts ; but it could not push farther afield, into the *Indo-Chinese* peninsula, the researches of one of its brilliant members Mr. B. H. Hodgson. So the *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, founded in 1900, opened a new chapter in the study of ancient Hindu Colonial culture of Champa and Cambodge and in the history of Asiatic antiquities in general under eminent French savants like MM. Finot, Coedés, Huber, Peri, Cabaton Parmentier and others. The wonderfully comprehensive collection of manuscripts, documents, printed books etc., in the famous collection of Hanoi (French Indo-China) is a veritable epitome of Asiatic culture which few universities of India or any other Asiatic country except Japan can rival.

Lastly, to the credit of the Japanese people it must be said that they have explored thoroughly Asia and her problems from a practical point of view. Thanks to Buddhism connecting India, China, Japan and the Far East, and thanks to the exemplary devotion of great Japanese scholars like Count Otani, Prof. Nanjio, Dr. Takakusu, Prof. Anesaki and others, there are regular lectures on Sanskrit, Pali and Indian history and culture in about a dozen universities of Japan. Moreover, there have developed great collections of books and manuscripts on Buddhism in particular and Indology in general, under the auspices of the Imperial Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto. India owes an immense debt of gratitude to the Japanese Buddhists, for the publications of the monumental *Taisho* edition of the *Tripitaka*. It is a veritable encyclopædia of Buddhology and Asiatic Culture, comprising 2633 books bound in 55 thick volumes, all collected, edited and financed by our Japanese friends. It has reproduced not only the principal ancient Chinese editions of the *Sung* and *Yuan* dynasties but has incorporated over 700 new texts and commentaries found in course of the exploration of Central Asia, the Tun-Huang and Tempyo collections as well as those of the temple libraries of Japan.

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Students of anthropology will feel indebted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for its valuable contribution to the science. The importance of collecting data on the habits and customs of the people was appreciated by the members of the Society as we find from their publication of many interesting articles and papers in the Journal and in the Memoirs of the Society. As early as 1871 Dalton published his researches under the title of *The Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal.* The Society formed the first nucleus of an ethnographical museum transferred later on to the Indian Museum and, as the result of the lead given by the Asiatic Society, interest in anthropology developed in other parts of India and the Anthropological Society of Bombay was founded in 1886. In 1891 Risley published his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*; in 1901 he was made the Commissioner of the Census of India and in 1905 Risley was appointed the Director of the Ethnographic Survey of India and the various provincial governments began to publish reports and monographs on the tribes and castes living within their jurisdictions, on the lines indicated by Risley. The Society published, among other things, The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs by J. Hornell; Studies in Santal Medicine and connected Folklore by P. O. Bodding and various papers on the tribes of Assam by eminent anthropologists like J. H. Hutton and J. P. Mills (*Vide*: Dr. B. S. Guha: Progress of Science in India during the past twentyfive years: Anthropology, pp. 300—335.)

The services rendered by the Society to the cause of the preservation and publication of rare manuscripts are unique. Its collection of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic manuscripts (over 32,000) is famous throughout the world. For lack of funds only a few of them could be published in its Memoirs and in the Bibliotheca Indica, the latter started by the eminent Bengali savant Dr. Rajendralala Mitra. His mantle fell on his friend and junior colleague MM. Pandit Haraprasad Sastri (1853—1931). He served the cause of Indology for nearly half a century, publishing his notices of Sanskrit manuscripts (since 1890) and his Descriptive catalogue of manuscripts (since 1905), surveying 14, 686 manuscripts altogether.*

Thus in the second half of the second century of its existence we find the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal as a great National Institution of International renown and we may confidently hope that with adequate financial backing and intellectual co-operation, the Society will continue to thrive, following its glorious tradition of service to Truth and Humanity.

* Vide: MM. Haraprasad Sastri Memorial Volume, Edited by Dr. N. N. Law and *Aryan Path*, Bombay, October, 1933.

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WORLD OF BOOKS

Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry—Ancient and Modern. Translated and annotated by Miamori Asataro in two volumes. Published by Maruzen Company Ltd., Tokyo.

The learned author of this valuable anthology has earned his reputation as an expert teacher and interpreter of English language and literature at Keio, Toyo, Chuo and Meiji universities of Japan. Among his important publications may be mentioned "Masterpieces of Chikamatsu, the Japanese Shakespeare" (Kegan Paul), "An Anthology of Haiku, Ancient and Modern" (Maruzen Co.). He visited the U. S. A., England, France and Switzerland on cultural mission (1914-15) and delivered a series of lectures (1930) on "Several important English words mistranslated in Japan."

In the anthology under review he has placed under obligation the entire English speaking world interested in Japanese literature. His introduction is almost a monograph by itself. Its first part is devoted to the analysis of the characteristics of Japanese poetry and the second part gives a brief history of Japanese poetry. Most of the 1,000 and odd lyrics belong to the *Tanka* variety or short poems of 31 syllables) which has got a history of over 20 centuries, proving thereby that the historical background of Japan is fairly old although the Japanese are generally considered to be a mere "modern" nation. The method followed by the author is admirable : every poem is printed in the Japanese script followed by its romanised text and the author's English version accompanied by previous translations mostly by foreign writers like Aston, Satow, Waley and Chamberlain. Moreover, he gives wherever necessary a short yet very useful historical note to each poem, specially to help foreigners to enter into the spirit of the composition. Because of their phenomenal brevity the Chinese and the Japanese poems prove extermely difficult to be translated into western languages and, remembering that, we cannot help offering our warmest congratulations to the author on his signal success as a translator.

The book has an additional charm of a rare character. It contains coloured and monochrome reproductions of a large number of pictures and autographs of great Japanese painters and authors, ancient and

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modern. They add considerably to the documentary no less than the aesthetic value of the book. Among the ancient painters we find great names like those of Tannyu, Sansetsu, Buson etc. and amongst the modern we find those of Taikwan and other artists of the Imperial Household and Mr. K. Kokei and others of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. The printing and general get up of the book deserve the highest praise.

Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations, Tokyo, in five volumes.

These beautifully printed volumes published by the World Conference Committee of the Japanese Education Association appeared to us as an encyclopaedic survey of recent educational tendencies. Its cosmopolitan character is guaranteed by the fact that, over and above a large number of Japanese educators, there were 869 delegates from 42 different countries of the World : U. S. A. sending the largest number 479, Canada 84, the Philippine Islands 62, Hawaii 56, India 50, Great Britain 23, Manchukuo 21, China 10, Ceylon 8, Germany 8, France 1, Siam 4, Turkey 2, Afghanistan 2, Iran 2, Egypt 1 and the rest from diverse countries. The enrolment and attendance did not follow, as we see, an even course. Owing to the unfortunate Sino-Japanese hostilities breaking out a little before the Conference (August, 1937), the number of the Chinese participants was very poor but several other Asiatic countries were represented, India leading with the figure 50. The veteran Japanese educationist Mr. M. Osima, the Secretary-General reported that there were "over 200,000 teachers in the empire of Japan who wanted to attend but could not", and also that the business people of Japan have contributed "400,000 Yen to defray the expenses." The President of the Tokyo Imperial University (where the conference meetings were held) wished that the Federation might continue "to contribute towards human welfare, cultural progress and international amity." Mr. H. Nagata, President of the Japanese Education Association observed : "the noblest work of mankind is to forward the progress of God's creation in accordance with His will.....This is a special privilege of the teacher." Dr. Paul Monroe, the general President, in course of an eloquent address remarked : "we want the teachers of various countries to become acquainted with each other. I believe in no other way can we develop international understanding."

The first volume of the Report gives the summary of general addresses, proceedings and index of delegates. The fourth and the fifth volumes give

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summaries of the papers and addresses of the Japanese delegates only. The second and the third volumes combine to present the various papers according to the following subjects: Adult Education; Broadcasting; Colleges and Universities; Educational Legislation; Commercial Education; Elementary Education; Secondary Education; Rural Education; Teachers' Organization; Home and School; Pre-School and Kindergarten; Visual Education; Geography; Health; Teacher's Training; Educational Crafts; Science Teaching etc. We congratulate our colleagues of the Japanese Education Association on the publication of this highly useful and instructive Report and we remind our readers that the present position of Japan in the world is not due merely to military adventures and political successes but that it rests on the solid foundation of a thorough and universal National Education without which no country can hope to stand in these days of dire competition. The cornerstone of this grand edifice of National Education in Japan was laid by that great Emperor Meiji who just about half a century ago, in his historic Rescript on Education, made education free, compulsory and open to all citizens of the empire, irrespective of class or creed.

Italian Economy and Culture. By Dr. Monindra Mohan Maulik. Published by Chakravarty Chatterjee and Co. Ltd.

The author has devoted several years to the study of economy and cultural life of Italy. The volume under review admirably demonstrates the thoroughness of his method. Taking his Doctorate in Political Science in the University of Rome he discussed most of the elements and movements which went to the making of modern Italy. In the first two chapters he gave a brief review of the Resorgimento and Romantic Movement of Italy. In the two following chapters he discussed National Economy, Work and Leisure in Factories, as exemplified by the Labour Charter of Fascist Italy. The chapter on the agricultural remaking of Italy would interest our leaders of rural uplift. The rest of the book is devoted to the appreciative surveys of the works of D'Annunzio, Pirandello, Grazia Deledda and others. The interest of Italian scholars in the religion and culture of India and of Tibet had been demonstrated in the chapter on Professor Tucci. The book is furnished with a helpful bibliography and we are sure it would be consulted with profit by all students of Modern Europe and its literature and thought.

A Study of Shinto, The Religion of the Japanese Nation. By Dr. Genchi Kato, D. Litt. Published by the Meiji Japan Society, Tokyo.

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This treatise endeavours to make a genetical or historical study of Shinto from a scientific point of view, illustrating the higher aspects of Shintoism to a degree hitherto left unattempted by Occidental students of the Orient. According to the author, "Shinto is, in truth, like Christianity, Buddhism, or Islam, one of the world's living religions. It has passed through a lengthy meandering course of development parallel with the national life of Japan. Starting as a nature religion, it has evolved itself into a peculiar form of ethico-intellectualistic religion. While intrinsically national in itself, it has, at different times, assimilated spiritualistic nourishment in the form of Confucian ethics and Buddhistic philosophy, and today it stands, stronger perhaps than ever before, inseparably interwoven in the national life of the Japanese race." There are thirteen Shinto sects officially recognised in Japan, on the same footing as Buddhism and Christianity. The author in twenty chapters, discusses the following important topics: Fetishism and Phallicism; Anthropology and Ancestor Worship in the stage of Nature Religion; Totemism and primitive Monotheism in original Shinto; from Polytheism to Pantheism with some phases of Henotheism and Monotheism; Germs of Moral Ideas in Shinto; Appearence of Change in the Idea of Sacrifice and the unique position of Shinto among the World's Religions. The author, at the end of the book, gives a very systematic Bibliography, Index and Appendix with the help of which the book is complete in itself. We congratulate the author on the production of this valuable book and the publisher, the Meiji Japan Society, for their keen interest in studying things Japanese specially Shinto, Confucianism, Buddhism, Busido, Japanese laws, fine arts etc., in the light of modern research. Such books help us to understand Japan and bring the Japanese and the foreigners to a better mutual understanding.

Indian Lac Research Institute, Namkum, Ranchi. Annual Report 1939-40.

Under the able direction of Dr. H. K. Sen, the Institute is making valuable contribution to industrial economy of India. An important section of the work done at the Indian Lac Research Institute, Namkum, was devoted to make the manufacture of shellac moulding powder as much independent of imported materials as possible. Of the several heads of research under which progress has been recorded plastic moulding takes the place of foremost importance.

The Institute has developed or adapted methods for the manufacture of urea and formalin in quantities sufficient for moderate-sized factories,

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and work has been done with a new chemical which has the property of further improving the quality of shellac-moulded articles.

This substance, melamine, is easily prepared from calcium cyanide which, though not manufactured in India, is avilable in large quantities, being one of the basic fertilisers.

It is with the same idea of developing a moulding industry entirely based on indigenous raw materials that two other powders have been formulated ; a shellac-casein and a shellac-coaltar powder.

Researches have also been carried out at the Institute on the application of new shellac varnishes and lacquers. In a country which does not yet possess a solvent-manufacturing industry, the practically exclusive use of alcohol for the formulation of lacquers must undoubtedly have great economic significance. By the use of ten percant notrocellulose and 90 percent shellac compounded in siprit, and a small proportion of esters, quick drying lacquers have been prepared which show good resistance to weather and mechanical wear. These have also been successfully used for preparing film surfaces over which sound grooves could be recorded and reproduced by playing on the gramophone.

In the field of entomological research the most important development during the year has been the initiation of a large-scale field experiment to test the practicability of biological control, which may be defined as the controlling of enemies of lac by their own insect enemies. Such control has in previous years been shown to be practicable under laboratory conditions.

The Institute plantation has been fully utilised during the year and results obtained as regards the mortality and fertility of various strains of the lac insect have been recorded. Work has also been concentrated on two egg parasites of the major lac predators. These insects are being bred in the laboratory and indications so far are that they are of great potential importance, in the control of these enemies of lac.

The German Primer for Science Students By Haragopal Biswas, M. Sc. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1938.

The author of this book has been guided in his work by the excellent idea of providing a German Grammar for those students who wish to acquaint themselves with the scientific literature published on their respective subjects in German without, however, specialising in the study of this language. This is indeed an interesting feature which deserves every encouragement. Such special grammar-books for the various

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groups of studies will naturally enrich the spiritual horizon of the student immensely.

Happy as the idea is its realization in this book, the arrangement of the lessons, their graduation, the material chosen for exemplification.....all these are apt to make or mar the effect. There is only one unfortunate things about the book. It is full of printing mistakes and needs a very careful revision. The long list of errata attached at the end of the book could easily be doubled.

A Lay on Mount Fuji

Extending over Suruga and Kai
Mount Fuji lifts its summit high.
Even the clouds of heaven, struck with awe,
Dare not pass over that steep peak ;
Even the birds attempt in vain
Over its giddy heights to soar.
Upon its top, the falling snow essays
To queuch the fire burning deep within ;
Again, the burning fire tries
To melt the falling snow.
It is a deity unnamable,
Beyond expression marvellous.
The great lake called Se-no-umi
Lies in the mountain's bosom ;
The mighty Fujigawa, which wayfarers cross,
Comes from the water flowing down its flank.
It is a God that watches o'er Japan—
O'er Yamato, the Land of the Sunrise—
It is her sacred treasure and her glory.
Upon the peak of Fuji in Suruga
Long may we gaze and gaze and never weary.

(Manyô Shû, Vol. III., A. D. 710—793)

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THE ART OF TAIKWAN YOKOYAMA

By Kiroku Hirose, Tokyo

It may be truly said that in form of expression there is not a single artist throughout all the schools of painting in present-day Japan who has not undergone the influence of European art, especially that of France. It is wellknown, of course, that Japan, during the Meiji era, absorbed much that was introduced from European civilization. Japanese art also departed from its original tradition and followed examples set by European artists.

The art of present-day Japan, extending over the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa eras, has made considerable progress under European influence. But there were people who vigorously opposed the introduction of foreign art education and insisted that it was necessary for Japan to preserve the characteristics of its own culture.

Eikyu Matsuoka, an artist who was well aware of the trend of the times, endeavoured to express the spirit of Western painting by means of the traditional art of Japan. In later years Matsuoka's style of painting underwent a change, but at the time it was very popular and was considered a new style of Japanese painting.

Japan did not have access to that classical art which form the main stream in the development of European art. Some European style artists in Japan insisted that it was necessary to create a European style of painting that was suitable to Japan. Although it is true that the influence of European art, which was introduced during the Meiji era, forms the motive power that has induced the great development of Japanese art today, yet we find that the more we study European art the more different it appears from that of Japan.

Tenshin Okakura, an art critic of the Meiji era at a time when most artists strove to absorb the art of Europe, early insisted upon encouraging and inspiring Japanese art. He claimed that if Japanese artists did not give more consideration to their native art there was the possibility that it would be completely lost. From among his disciples three famous painters should be mentioned: Shunso Hishida, Kwanzan Shimomura and Taikwan Yokoyama.

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Okakura founded the Nippon Bijutsu-in (Japan Art Institute) and taught his students there. He occasionally held art exhibitions and invited the public to see the results of his work.

After Okakura's death his student, Shunso Hishida was to carry on the work of his master. But he died at an early age and it was feared that there would be no successor. However, Taikwan Yokoyama reestablished the Nippon Bijutsu-in and throughout his artistic life of fifty years he has adhered to his master's wishes in striving to display the true Japanese artistic spirit. It is true the art of Japan has undergone various changes under the influence of European art, but Taikwan Yokoyama's work has remained consistent and has never changed.

Under the able guidance of his teacher, Tenshin Okakura, Taikwan Yokoyama, when young, in an extremely grave manner facsimiled famous old Japanese masters. Some of these facsimiles are preserved in the Imperial Museum. Observing them, one can note that they are quite different from his own paintings. A particularly noteworthy example of Yokoyama's early work is a painting called "Mushin," or Innocence. This was painted before he graduated from school but his art is smooth and clam. This painting represents some children of the pre-Kamakura Period.

On looking at this work one is strongly impressed with the grand scale on which it is produced, and that is probably the reason for Taikwan's greatness as an artist today. His style in this particular case, is clearly influenced by Gaho Hashimoto.

There were many artists who employed this particular style of painting, but few of them have become as distingnished as Taikwan.

As stated before, during the Meiji era European art was brought to Japan and adopted to such an extent that it looked as if the traditional art of this country might vanish. As a result, there arose a group of nationalistic painters who lacked artistic conscience and devotion and who merely endeavoured to imitate the traditional methods of Japanese painting. Taikwan likewise advocated the preservation of the national characteristics of Japanese painting, but he was truly an artist and his technique seemed to improve with his advanced age. Each new work became a subject for consideration in the field of art and the centre of controversies among critics. On minutely scrutinizing his "Chikur in Yen-u" (Bamboo Jungle in Hazy Rain), the bamboo jungle alone does not appear the work of a great master. The human figures and partial scenes, too, seem to lack harmony. There is something in the proportions of

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the figures that makes us feel their unnaturalness. In spite of all this, the atmosphere emerging from the painting brings a feeling of mness. The painting, as a whole, seems to represent the essence of Oriental art and is powerful enough to make the student wish to look at it again and again.

Taikwan, who studied the paintings of the North School of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties, often paints India-ink pictures. Although these pictures do not have such matured simplicity as is found in the old Chinese masters, they are full of life and juvenescence. Into this work the artist seems to impart his own perpetual youthfulness.

He occasionally produces coloured pictures after the style of the Kano and Tosa schools. His art in this field cannot be said to be always masterly, but it does possess such dignity and sublimity as none but Taikwan can express. His colours never wither. They always display fresh beauty.

Taikwan believes in idealism, but is not one of those artists who stand aloof from realism. A close observation of his work will lead us to believe that his mountains, trees, rivers, flowers, and birds are based upon drawings from life and nature. The main factors of his work are elegance and refinement. His realism yields one step to his idealism and and hence his ideals are vividly perceivable.

Taikwan's idealism is derived from Tenshin Okakura's principles and the Mito school of Japanese philosophy, in which he is deeply read. His daily life is one to which Oriental art itself is concentrated. In his house there is a Japanese-style fireplace where he burns faggot and makes tea, as our forebears have done and as it is still one in farm houses in remoter parts of the country.

He is always attired with *haori* and *hakama*, as the Japanese wore down to the middle of the Meiji era and do even today on solemn occasions.

Visitors who hear water running in his garden and birds singing around his house forget that they are in a city of hurry and bustle. To prevent the slightest vibration, however, the found ation of his studio is of heavy concrete, which means that he is perfectly ready to marshal science into his use when profitable.

The Tokyo Fine Art School, from which Taikwan graduated, has endeavoured to introduce European art education in Japan, and due credit must be given to what good it has done. But the time has changed and the lack of ideology in art education has naturally tended to bring about a hopeless condition. Thus the Education Ministry Art

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Exhibition, which has undergone many changes, has today lost its leaders and has no definite principles. The Japan Art Institute, over which Taikwan presides, however, is prospering, having as members such illustrious names as Yukihiko Yasuda, Kokei Kobayashi, and Seison Mayeda. Taikwan is now at the height of his career, not only as a great artist, but also as an outstanding figure in the history of Japan's last three eras.

Recently Taikwan held a memorial exhibition displaying twenty of his masterpieces. These works of art sold for 500,000 yen. This being the 2600th anniversary of the foundation of the Japanese Empire, he donated the entire sum to the Government. Hitherto this great artist has frequently used for his subject the mountains, but now for the first time he has produced many marine paintings. Although Taikwan is now seventy years old, his paintings portray the joy and rapture with which he looks upon the sea and mountains just as he did when he was a young man. In his masterly style he brings to life on his canvas the roaring surges, calm seas, and waves dashing against the shore. He pictures these objects exactly as they echo to his soul, so much so that he often does not find it necessary to attend to the artistic trivialities in the use of the brush.

Most Japanese artists today are unable to paint the unique nature of Japan in the style of Taikwan. His favourite subjects are mainly cherry blossoms, pines, Mount Fuji, and the rising sun. These popular subjects, when they become paintings through his brush, seem to possess a mystic power and create a dignified and imposing atmosphere. His great work is symbolic of the true beauty of Japanese nature.

All artists, whether painting in Japanese or European style, have been stimulated by the work of this master. In recognition of his unique contribution in preserving the classical traditions of Japanese art while at the same time drawing fresh inspiration from the art of Europe, Taikwan Yokoyama was decorated with the Order of Culture. With his usually high spirit and boundless energy he has recently produced the greatest masterpieces of his life, which no doubt, will be admired and criticized by artists of future generations.

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THE ARAB WORLD AND PALESTINE PROBLEMS

By **Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh**, M.A., B.L.

Arabia, the cradle of Islamic religion and civilization, had always been divided into a number of little states, each under an independent chieftain, owing nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey. This independence was well-marked in the south but in the north, Syria and Palestine passed into the hands of Mahomet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, in 1831. In 1840, the Sultan with the help of his European allies got back these vilayets. During the reign of Abdul Hamid II Palestine and Syria enjoyed peace and prosperity. But with the outbreak of the Great War of 1914-18, Turkey allied herself with Germany and thus became the enemy of Great Britain. The Allied Powers tried to create a revolt in the Arabian States against Turkey and various negotiations were started between the Arabs and Sir Percy Cox, the Chief Political Officer of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, and Sir Henry Macmahon, the British High Commissioner in Cairo [See Philby—*Arabia* pp. 231-60]. The correspondence (ten letters) between Sir Henry Macmahon and Sherief Hussein of Mecca was kept a close secret by the British Colonial Office and was published only in March 1939 (Cmd. 5957 of 1939) after much of its contents had already leaked out. In the first letter of the Sherief to Sir Henry, the Sherief, on the belief that Great Britain would help the Arabs "without any ulterior motives whatsover," to "realise their firm and lawful intentions of making their country free from Turkish misrule, requested Great Britain to acknowledge the independence of Arab countries bounded on the north by Mersina and Adana up to 37° of latitude, on the east by Persia, on the south by the Indian Ocean and on the West by the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea up to Mersina." The letter also required "England to approve of the proclamation of an Arab Khalifate of Islam." In reply, Sir H. Macmahon declared: "Arab interests are English interests and English Arab." He reiterated his "desire for the independence of Arabia and its inhabitants" and his approval for an Arab Khalifate. But as the Sherief pointed out, in his letter dated September 9,1915, the High Commissioner's letter showed "ambiguity and tone of coldness and hesitation with regard to our essential point", i. e. the questions of limits and boundaries

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of independent Arabia. On October 24, 1915, Sir Henry, with the approval of the British Government, laid down the limits and boundaries of independent Arabia, in a letter to the Sherief. He wrote: "The two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the West of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limits demanded. With the above modification, and without prejudice to our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept those limits. Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs in *all the regions* within the limits demanded by the Sherief of Mecca."

But with regard to the Vilayets of Bagdad and Basra, the letter declared that "the Arabs will recognise that the established position and interests of Great Britain necessitate special administrative arrangements in order to secure these territories from foreign aggression, to promote the welfare of the local population and to safeguard our mutual economic interests." The letter also pointed out that as Great Britain will "advise" the Arabs as to the "most suitable forms of Government in those various territories," the European officials "as may be required for the formation of a sound form of administration will be British." The Sherief in his letter dated November 15, 1915, renounced his "insistence on the inclusion of the Vilayets of Mersina and Adana in the Arab kingdom." But his letter of this date contained the following momentous words: "But the two Vilayets of Aleppo and Beirut and their sea coasts are purely Arab Vilayets and there is no difference between a Moslem and Christian Arab: they are both descendants of one forefather." Sir Henry in reply (December 14, 1915) refused to pronounce final decision on this matter, "as the interests of our ally, France, are involved in them both," and required time for further consideration. On January 1, 1916, the Sherief, however, clearly pointed out that "the citizens of Beirut will decidedly never accept such dismemberment"; that there is "reciprocity and indeed the identity of our interests"; that this "may oblige us to undertake new measures which may exercise Great Britain" and that "it is impossible to allow any derogation that gives France or any other power a span of land in those regions." To this the British High Commissioner, in his reply dated January 25, 1916, while extolling Anglo-French unity, remained deliberately silent.

Sherief Hussein, then, on this vague understanding with the British raised the banner of revolt against the Turks in 1916. The other Arab rulers, Sheikh Mubarak of Kivweit, Idrisi Seyed of Sabya, Ibn Sa'ud of Nejd, etc., assisted by British subsidies, sided with Great Britain. The

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independence of Ibn Sa'ud was recognised by Great Britain in a treaty signed on December 26, 1915 and ratified on the 18th July, 1916. [See—Toynbee—*Survey of International Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 272 (1925)]

But in May, 1916, England and France entered into a secret pact, known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement by which they divided the table-land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf, between themselves, as spheres of influence. This treaty was exposed to the world by the Bolsheviks in November 1917. At this time the British Government felt necessary to purchase the support of the Jewish world in their war against Germany and Turkey by promising to the Jews the establishment of a National Home in Palestine, in direct contravention of the wishes of the Arabs. The negotiation between Mr. Balfour and Dr. Weizmann, the leader of the Zionist organisation resulted in what is knowm as the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917. The Declaration reads as follows : "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country." The Jews had settled in Palestine long before the Christian era ; they are of the same blood as the Arab Moslems. They used to speak the same Arab language. But they were decidedly in a minority in Palestine, which formed an integral part of the Arab world. The Balfour Declaration led the Jews to believe in the ultimate formation of a Jewish State in Palestine. On December 9, 1917, Jerusalem surrendered and General Allenby read his proclamation in seven languages, placing Palestine "under martial law under which form of administration it will remain so long as military considerations make it necessary" [For the Proclamation, see *The Hand book of Palestine and Transjordan*—by Luke and Keith-Roach, 1930, p. 28]. The Armistice was signed on 30th October, 1918, and under its terms the Turks evacuated from Medina and Yaman. On November 7, 1918, France and England published a joint note, supplementing the message of the British High Commissioner to the seven Arab leaders, resident in Cairo, on June 16, 1918. In the Joint Declaration, the two powers declared : "The intentions of France and Great Britain are at one in encouraging and assisting the establishment of indigenous Governments and Administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, now liberated by the Allies, and in the territories the liberation of which they are engaged in securing and reorganising as

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soon as they are actually established. Far from wishing to impose on the populations of these regions any particular institutions, they are only concerned to ensure by their support and by adequate assistance the regular working of Governments and Administrations *freely chosen by the populations themselves"* [See Cmd. 5974 of 1939, Annex 1, pp. 50—51]. It is really interesting to note that this Declaration does not say anything about Palestine or the Balfour Declaration of 1917. Prudently the Allied Powers kept silent on these points. Indeed as Hans Kohn says: "For two years the military administration there did not dare, out of regard for Arab population, to proclaim the Balfour Declaration in Palestine. It was not till 1920 that it was mentioned publicly in a speech by the British representative there" [*Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East*, p. 129].

In the middle of 1919, the allocation of the Mandate over Palestine became an acute problem. The Versailles Treaty was signed on June 18, 1919. The problem for the administration of the conquered territories was thrashed out in the Peace Conference, and there the idealism of Woodrow Wilson and the imperialism of the British and the French were synthesised in the new conception of "Mandated territories," invented by General Smuts. Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provided for the Mandate System with regard to the former Turkish possessions in these words: "Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. *"The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."* The Mandatory was to be appointed by the League of Nations, was to administer on "the principle that the well-being and development of such people form a sacred trust of civilization" and under terms which shall, "if not provisionally agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council," and to submit annually a report of administration for examination by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

In Conformity to Article 22 of the Covenant, President Wilson sent the King-Crane Commission to find out the feelings of the Arabs of Palestine on the mandate and the would-be Mandatory. The Commission found "strong sentiment favourable to complete independence for a united Syria (including Palestine), but if supervision was necessary, the United States was preferred to Great Britain. Strong opposition to the

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Zionist proposal was also indicated" [see Stannard Baker—*Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, Vol. II, pp. 205—22]

But the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement got the better of Woodrow Wilson. France agreed to hand over the Mandate over Palestine and Iraq to Great Britain, while she was given the Mandate over Syria. As U.S.A. was not a member of the League, her voice was brushed aside. Italy objected against the Anglo-French Settlement. At last on April 25, 1920 the Supreme Council of the League, sitting at San Remo, invested Great Britain with the Mandate over Palestine and charged her at the same time to fulfil the Balfour Declaration.

PALESTINE

From 1919 to May 1921, Palestine was under a British military administration. During this period four Arab Congresses were held in Damascus, Haifa and Jerusalem, all demanding the revocation of the Balfour Declaration, the immediate grant of self-Government and the union of Palestine with Syria. On July 1, 1920 the military administration was replaced by a civil one, with Sir Herbert Samuel as the first British High Commissioner. In October 1920, Sir Samuel set up the first machinery for introducing self-government in Palestine by gradual stages. He established a nominated Advisory Council consisting of 10 British officials and Palestinians, of whom seven were Arabs (four Moslems and three Christians) and three were Jews. This Council worked for two years. But from July 1920, there were numerous clashes between the Jews and the Moslems. Anti-Jewish riots took a serious turn and Jewish immigration was stopped for the first time in May 1921. The causes of the riot were found out by a Commission whose report (Cmd. 1540 of 1921) pointed to the Arab fears against a Jewish state in Palestine as the main cause. After the subsidence of these riots, Mr. Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, published a Statement of Policy on June 3, 1922, explaining the Balfour Declaration and the British Policy in Palestine. This memorandum drew attention to the fact (1) "that the terms of the Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine," (2) That the Jewish National Home did not mean "the imposition of a Jewish Nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a

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centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion or race, an interest and pride." For this purpose, the Balfour Declaration was to be incorporated in the Mandate, and Jewish immigration allowed in Palestine in accordance with the "economic capacity of the country to absorb new arrivals." Arab culture, religion or language was not to be allowed to be submerged. Palestinians were to be given self-government by "gradual stages and not suddenly." A special committee consisting entirely of the elected members of the new Legislative Council was to be set up "to confer with the Administration upon matters relating to the regulation of immigration" (Cmd. 1700 of 1922, pp. 17-21). The Arabs replied that the claim that the Jewish National Home, was to be established "as of right and not of sufferance" was a preposterous one. They demanded the fulfilment of the pledges given by Sir Macmahon to the Sherief of Mecca, and included Palestine within the independent zone. They protested against Jewish immigration and expressed their fear of being swamped by an artificially created Jewish majority. They demanded an immediate grant of self-government. See (*Ibid*, pp. 22-28).

On August 10, 1922, a new Constitution was imposed on Palestine. There was to be a High Commissioner and Commander-in-chief invested with the highest executive powers to be exercised for giving effect to the provisions of the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration. He was empowerd to divide the country into provinces for administration. All rights in relation to public lands was to vest in him. He could make grants or leases of public lands, mines or minerals. Subject to the direction of the Secretary of State, he could appoint such public officers of the Government as he might think fit, and all such officers would hold office during his pleasure. There was to be an Executive Council to assist the High Commissioner, composed in such manner as may be directed from time to time by His Majesty's Government. There was to be a Legislative Council consisting of 22 members, besides the High Commissioner, of whom 10 were to be official and 12 unofficial members, the latter eing elected by primary and secondary elections, from communal electoral colleges. Every male Palestinian citizen over 25 years of age would be entitled to vote at the primary elections, and every 200 primary electors returning one secondary elector. English, Arabic and Hebrew were to be the three official languages. The Legislative Council might pass ordinances for the peace, order and good Government of Palestine, subject to the limitations imposed by instructions issued by his Majesty's Government. But it could not pass any ordinance suppressing freedom of conscience, free worship of all forms. No ordinance was to be valid which had not been assented to by the High

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Commissioner, or by an Order-in-Council of this Majesty or by the Secretary of State. The High Commissioner could reserve any Ordinance for His Majesty's significance, while His Majesty could disallow within one year any ordinance to which the High Commissioner might have given his assent. Any dissatisfied community was empowered to present a Memorandum of grievances to the Council of the League, through the Secretary of State. The High Commissioner was also to confer upon all matters relating to the regulation of immigration with a committee consisting of not less than one-half of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council.

The Judiciary was to consist of Magistrate's Courts; District Courts with jurisdiction in both Civil and Criminal matters which are not within the jurisdiction of the Magistrates' Court and with an appellate jurisdiction; a Court of Criminal Assize with exclusive jurisdiction in capital offences; Land Courts; a Supreme Court acting as a Court of Appeal from the District and other Courts; and Tribal Courts for cases involving the application of local customs. There was also to be Moslem, Jewish and Christian Religious Courts with exclusive jurisdiction in matters of personal status, i. e., suits regarding marriage, divorce, alimony, guardianship, succession, wills, wakf or religious endowments, etc. The judgments of the Religious Courts were to be carried out by the process and offices of the Civil Courts. [See *British and Foreign State Papers*, Vol. CXVI. pp. 204, 224; Also J. De. V. Loder—*The truth about Mesopotamia*, etc. (1923), pp. 179-183]. The elections held under this constitution in March, 1923, were boycotted by the Arabs, and the Arab members who were at first elected gradually dropped out one by one. On 29th May, 1923, the High Commissioner announced that "His Majesty's Government have decided to suspend, for the time being, such part of the proposed constitution as relates to the establishment of a Legislative Council" (see Cmd. 1989 of 1923). The Advisory Council was reinstituted, but this time composed of all British officials. Legislation was made henceforth by the High Commissioner's Ordinances. On September 29, 1923, after the settlement of the Franco-Italian differences with regard to Syria, the French Mandate over Syria and the British Mandate over Palestine came into operation simultaneously. Both of them became 'A' mandates. The Palestine Mandate included the Balfour Declaration (Art. 2); the Mandatory was given "full powers of legislation and administration save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate" (Art. 1). A Jewish Agency was recognised to help the administration which was bound to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine "but ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced"

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(Art. 6). The Mandatory was empowered to maintain its force in Palestine, whose cost would be borne by Palestine Administration (Art. 17). By Art. 25 the Mandatory could withhold the application of any clauses of the Mandate to Transjordan, and was bound to submit an annual report of administration to the League Council. (See Cmd. 1785 of 1922).

The Arabs immediately challenged the moral and legal validity of the Mandate. Moreover, as Hans Kohn points out, though it was an 'A' mandate, "it resembled a 'B' mandate in the provision that all powers of legislation and administration were to be invested in the mandatory Power. It differed from the mandates for Syria and Iraq in placing Palestine on the level of a British Colony" (*Ibid*, pp. 141, 295). All the high posts were reserved for British officials ; the supreme executive and legislative powers were vested in the High Commissioner ; the Civil service took a colonial character, and the language of 90% of the people was not to be the official language.

In October 1923, the High Commissioner tried to create an Arab Agency, like the Jewish Agency, to co-operate with the Administration ; but the measure failed. In 1925 Sir Herbert Samuel was succeeded by Lord Plumer who carried on a firm administration against the grumblings of the Arabs. In 1928 Sir John Chancellor succeeded Lord Plumer. In that year the Arab Congress demanded the immediate stoppage of the Jewish immigration and the grant of full self-Government. The Wailing Wall incident occured on September, 1928, which caused violent outbreaks in many parts of the country. Peace was restored by British troops brought from Egypt and Malta. On September 14, 1929, a Commission of Enquiry was appointed under Sir Walter Shaw. The findings and recommendations of the Shaw commission were published in Cmd. 3530 of 1929. It was found by the Commission that Jewish "immigrants have come into Palestine in excess of the economic absorbing powers of the country" (p. 106), and there were large sales of land between 1921 and 1929, in consequence of which a landless, discontented Arab class had been created (p. 162). "The Arab people of Palestine," the report said, "are united in their damand of a measure of self-government" (p. 162). In the London Conference, which was subsequently held, the Arabs demanded the cessation of all Jewish immigration. But the British Government refused to grant these demands, and in pursuance to a resolution of the Permanent Mandates Commission, dated June, 1930, they increased their military strength in Palestine. In May 1930, a Commission was appointed under Sir John Hope Simpson to report on the problems of immigration and pressure on land. The report, published

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on October 20, 1930 (Cmd. 3692 of 1930), contained two important findings. (1) that "if all lands not yet occupied by the Jews had been equally divided amongst the Arabs, still the share of each Arab family will not be enough to enable it to maintain a decent standard of living;" and (2) that if improvements are carried out, the maximum number of immigrants that can be settled on Palestine cannot be more than 20,000 families. The Hope-Simpson Report as well as the white Paper accompanying it and endorsing its recommendations were thrown into the waste-paper basket as a result of severe agitation by Mr. Amery, Mr. Baldwin, Sir Austin Chamberlain, Sir John Simon and General Smuts. Mr. Macdonald, for his safety, wrote in the Times, on February 14, 1931, thus: "His Majesty's Government did not prescribe and do not contemplate any stoppage or prohibition of Jewish immigration in any of its categories." From 1930 to 1935 the Arabs organised and agitated for their demands. In December 1935, Sir Arthur Wauchope, the British High Commissioner, offered a Constitution in which the powers of the High Commissioner were retained, and a Legislative Council, composed of 28 members—5 officials, 2 commercial representatives, 8 elected and 3 nominated Moslems, 3 elected and 4 nominated Jews and 1 elected and 2 nominated Christians, 1 President from outside Palestine, who would neither vote nor debate—was proposed. The Arabs rejected the offer summarily. Soon after revolts broke out in the country and British troops, again tried to restore peace. Meanwhile negotiations were going on between the British Government and the Arabs, represented by the King of Iraq, the Emir of Transjordan, the Imam of Yemen, the King of Saudi Arabia, etc. General Nuri Pasha, the Iraqi Foreign Minister, did most to bring about a rapproachment between the British Government and the Arabs. On October 12, 1936, the Arab Higher Committee called off the Strike. On November 5, the Peel Commission was appointed to enquire into the causes of the unrest and to make recommendations. Its report was published in July 1937 Cmd. 5479 of 1937). The causes of the revolt were the same as in the revolts of 1920, 1921, 1929 and 1933, i. e., the Jewish immigration and purchase of lands; the fear of ultimate political domination by the Jews; the fervent nationalism of the Arabs, accentuated by the independence of Iraq, Transjordan and other Arab States (p. 110-112). But the Commission recommended that Jewish immigration was to go on, regulated by "the economic absorptive capacity of Palestine" and subject to a "political high level" of 12,000 Jews per annum for the next five years. It did not recommend the grant of self-government. It proposed the partition of Palestine into three states, one Arab, one Jewish and one permanently

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mandated enclave comprising the Holy Places and the coastal region adjoining thereto. As the Commission itself reported, these proposals meant "that the Arabs must acquiesce in the exclusion from their sovereignty of a piece of territory, long occupied and once ruled by them." The Moslems from every part of the world condemned the partition as a measure of imperialism. In pursuance to the recommendation of the League Council, dated September 29, 1937, the British Government appointed the Woodhead Commission to give effect to the partitioning of Palestine. The Commission was boycotted by the Arabs, like the Peel Commission. It reported in October, 1938 [Cmd. 5854 of 1938]. It rejected the proposals for partition on financial as well as political grounds. Though it was prepared to support plan "C" of the Peel Commission, yet it made various reserving clauses, and emphasised a customs union between the Arab, the Jewish States and the mandated areas in Palestine. The British Government in a White Paper [Cmd. 5893 of 1938] rejected the partition plan and invited the Jews and Arabs to discuss with it measures for peace and agreement. The conference ended in smoke and on May 17, on their own responsibility the British Government made their final proposals through a White Paper [Cmd. 6019 of 1939]. The proposals included the following: partition was impracticable; the expression National Home did not and would not mean the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine; that self-government would be developed in Palestine gradually; "the object of His Majesty's Government is the establishment within ten years of an independent Palestine State in such treaty relations with the United Kingdom as will provide satisfactorily for the commercial and strategic requirements of both countries in the future," as well as under such conditions that "the essential interests of the Jews and the Arabs are secured". After five years from the restoration of peace and order, a committee would be set up to make recommendations about a Palestinean Constitution in which an elective legislature might find a place. Jewish immigration was not to be stopped forthwith. There would be Jewish immigration for the next five years at a rate of 10,000 a year, together with the immigration of 25,000 Jewish refugees "as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem." After this "no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it."

At present the Government of Palestine is constituted of the High Commissioner as the chief executive and legislative authority, under the Crown and the Secretary of State; the Executive Council composed

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of the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Tressurer,—ex-officio members—and such other persons holding office in public service of Palestine, as may be appointed by the High Commissioner, in pursuance of instructions of the British Secretaries of State [See *the Royal Instructions to the High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief,* January 1, 1932—Also *Constitutions of All countries* Vol I, British Empire, p. 554]. There is also an Advisory Council, constituted by the High Commissioner, with the approval of the Secretary of State, consisting of the fourteen Heads of departments under his own Presidency. The power of the Council is limited to advising the High Commissioner, who cannot promulgate an ordinance unless he has consulted it. In the matter of immigration, currency, divorce, grant of land, differential duties, discipline or control of the British forces by land, sea or air in Palestine, royal prerogatives etc., the High Commissioner is bound to obtain previous instructions from one of the principal Secretaries of State. The area of Palestine is 10, 429 sq. miles and population in 1939, 1,466,536, of whom 848, 933 are Moslems, 424, 373 Jews, 114, 624 Christians. In 1922 the Jews were 11% of the population ; in 1932 they became 17% and in 1939, they were 30%, while combined with the Christians they are 37% of the population. Palestine has became one of the most important centres of international trade and commerce. Here meet the steamship lines, the airroutes, oil-pipe lines, important rail ways and the East and the West. Haifa has become the third largest harbour in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is the most important point in the British Imperial communications. But Palestine is undisputedly the land of the Arabs. The Arabs of Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, Yemen, Saudi-Arabia, are keenly watching the British policy in Palestine and are frankly in favour of the Palestinian Arabs. Indeed in the future Pan-Arab State, which is almost a reality, Palestine will occupy an integral position. The Native Jews of Palestine had sympathies with the Arab Moslems. But the Zionists from abroad want to deprive the Moslem Arabs of their birth right and establish political domination over them by the sheer weight of numbers. The British policy of May 1939, has, however, clearly explained the nature of the Balfour Declaration, and there is not going to be any Jewish State in Palestine henceforth. The Jews have invested almost £ 20,000, 000 of capital in Palestine and have done much to improve the economic and cultural conditions of the local people. But they must rest content with their religious and cultural home in Palestine. On the other hand, the demand of the Arabs for freedom is just aud should be fulfilled by the British Government at the earliest opportunity.

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SYRIA.

Syria tells us the same tale as Palestine. Under the Turkish administration she was enjoying considerable local autonomy. The European, and specially the French interests in Syria date from 1860, when, as a result of the intervention of the European powers on behalf of the Christian Maronites against the Druzes, this Catholic seat of Lebanon developed a strong pro-French mentality and began to offer a determined opposition to Pan-Syrian nationalism. During the Great War, the Allied powers, with the assistance of Arab forces under Feisal, son of king Hussein of Mecca, drove away the Turks from Syria. Already in 1916, France and England had signed the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and agreed to create and support an independent Arab State out of the union of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo with the interrior of Syria. But in the Peace Conference of Paris France agreed to give Mosul vilyaet and Palestine to Great Britain on condition that she would obtain a share in the oil; that Britain would support her against Woodrow Wilson in these matters; and that she would have a mandate over Syria and Lebanon—including Damascus. Aleppo, Alexandretta and Beirut. In Syria, however, Feisal assisted by British gold, had set up an Arab administration in October, 1918, with tacit British approval. But the news of the Peace Conference gradually leaked out, that Great Britain had agreed to Syria becoming a French mandate. The Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, and Article 22 of the Covenant set up the principle of Mandate administration for territories beloging to the former Turkish and German Empires. The San Reneo Conference of April, 1920, allocated the Mandate over Syria to France and that over Palestine to Great Britain, in direct isolation of the Macmahon pledges, the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the solemn Anglo-French Declaration of November, 7, 1918. In March 11, 1920, Feisal had already become King of independent Syria with the unanimous support of the Syran people. On July 3, 1920, the Syran National Congress adopted a democratic constitution, with considerable local autonomy. But on July 19, 1920, General Gourand, who had arrived on November 22, 1919, at Beirut as French High Commissioner, sent an ultimatum to King Feisal to vacate. King Feisal refused and "pleaded that Britain should not abandon him" [Earnest Main—*Iraq, From Mandate to Independence*(1935)]. Bnt Britain turned a cold shoulder to Feisal, and after the Battle of Khan Meisalun, where the Arab Commander fell at the head of his troops, the French entered Damascus and began an era of persecution and oppression which resulted in the genral insurrection of the Syrian Arabs in 1925. The first act of the French Government to weaken Arab

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nationalism was to divide Syria into many parts with separate Governments. On September 1, 1920, General Gouraud proclaimed the creation of the State of Great Lebanon by extending the frontiers of old Lebanon in such a way that the Maronites, together with other Christians became a majority over the Arab Moslems. The Arabs protested against this division to a man, but in vain.

The second notorious achievement of the French was the partition of the rest of Syria into four other States. The territory of Alawis, on the coastal region, north of Lebanon, was proclaimed an independent territory on August 31, 1920, and on July, 1922, it was named, 'The State of Alawis,' after the "Alawis"—a mountanous people who had religions differences with the Arab Moslems. On September 1, 1920, the High Commissioner by an "arrêté" established a personal Government, assisted by a Governing Commission composed of fifteen nominated members and having only advisory functions. On September 12, 1921, the Sanjak of Alexandretta was declared another autonomous division on the ground that there the Turks constituted a considerable portion of the people. Thus the entire coastal area of Syria was cut off from her, and she was "driven to the desert."

Even this did not satisfy the French Inland Syria was again divided into three States of Damascus, Aleppo and Jebel-ed-Druz. On March 8, 1922, a provisional constitution of Lebanon vested the executive and legislative power in a Governor appointed by the High Commissioner. There was also set up a Representative Council composed of 16 Christians, 13 Moslems and 1 representative of the minorities at Beirut. The Governor was to be a Frenchman ; the members of the Representative Council were to be elected indirectly on democratic franchise, but on the basis of separate electorates with reservation of seats. The powers of the council were effective over "transferred subjects," including some portions of the budget, public works, social welfare, etc. Over "reserved subjects," it had only debatory powers. The initiative of all legislations was made the prerogative of the Governor. The Arabs strongly criticised the Communal composition and limited powers of the Council. Another "arrêté," instituting a Council of State was signed by the Governor of the Lebanon on 6th September, 1924 and approved by the High Commissioner on September 11, 1924. [See—Toynbee—*Survey of Int. Affs.*, 1925, Vol. I., P.357]

On April 5, 1922, Jebel-ed-Druz was proclaimed an independent state under French Mandate, subject to an agreement signed on March 4, 1921, between the Mandatory Power and the local Druse Chiefs.

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Damascus and Aleppo remained separate for some time ; then they were federated together with the State of Alawis on June 28, 1922. Separate Representative Councils were also set up in Damascus, Aleppo and Alawis by a Decree of the High Commissioner, besides a Federal Council for these three States, created under the Statute of Federation of June 28, 1922. The debates in the Federal Council manifested a strong desire for political unification on the part of all the Arabs, excepting the Alawis, as a consequence whereof, General Weygand, the new French High Commissioner, dessolved the Federation and ordered the unification of Damascus with Aleppo in the summer of 1924. Alawis became a separate state again.

The new State of Syria (Damascus and Aleppo combined) was given a Constitution by a Decree of December 5, 1924. There was to be an elected President, a Ministry appointed by him and an elected Council. But the system of administration was throughly colonial, as every act of the President and the Ministers required confirmation by the French High Commisioner.

On January, 1925, General Sarrail succeeded General Weygand, and at once tried to introduced a more liberal system of government. He gave the press its freedom, and introduced a national system of education quite in contrast with the sectarian and parochial policy of the previous regime. General Sarrail's able lieutenant, Leon Cayla, Governor of Lebanon, had formed a new electoral law on a national basis, whose first article read as follows : "In future no account shall be taken of the division into various religious communities in assigning seats in the Representative Council to the several sections of the Lebanese population. The members of the Representative Council shall be elected directly and by the List system of proportional representation" But the Jesuits and the anti-national Maronites raised a strong opposition against these liberal measures, which had to be abondoned. The new elections of March, 1925 were held under the old electoral law of 1922.

The French administration in Syria suffered from certain serious defects. The French officers were arrogant ; they knew little of the language and customs of the people. The French judicial system was also defective ; French judges were "unacquainted with the country's laws and ignorant of Arabic." Peace was maintained by a big standing army and espionage. France had deliberately allowed 100,000 Armenians to settle in Syria and Lebanon, and this made the economic problem very acute. Discontent was rife and from 1919 to 1925 Syria had five insurrections, suppressed by force. In 1925, due to the

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despotic and insolent beahviour of the French Governor, Captain Carbillet, against the Druzes, a revolt Sprang up in Jebel-el-Druze, under the lerdership of Sultan Pasha el Atrashi, a popular hero who had helped King Feisal to win the independence of Syria. The People's Party, founded in February, 1925, and composed of the best intellectuals of Syria, welcomed the insurgents. The French arrested the leaders of the party though some of them, including the President, Dr. Shahbander, fled to Jebel -el-Druz, where they raised the Arabian national flag and set up a Provinsional Government. The latter exhorted the people to fight and win and passed a resolution demanding "the compelte independence of Syria, one and indivisible, both the coastal region and the interior, the establishment of a national Government, and the free election of a Costituent Assembly to draft the constitution, the withdrawl of the foreign army of occupation and the creation of a national army to guarantee security and apply the principles of the French Revolution and the rights of man" (Quoted by Hans Kohn —*Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hinter East* —p. 192).

General Sarrail was soon recalled and succeeded by Henri de Jouvenal. The new High Commissioner made a series of promises to the Arabs, but all in equivocal language. Then he tired to keep the Lebanese away from the Arab insurgents by giving them a more liberal Constitution which was actually submitted before the Lebanese Council in May, 1926, and promulgated on May 23, 1926, in the teeth of opposition of the entire Moslem community. Lebanon became a separate and independent state, but not sovereign. The Mandate continued to be an integral part of the Constitution. There was a bicameral legislature, the Senate having 16 members, of whom 9 were elected and 7 nominated by the High Commissioner. The Christians got 8 seats, the Moslems 7, and otehr minorities 1. The Chamber of Deputies (the old Lebanese Council) continued as before but was elected on the basis of separate elecetorate with reservation of seats in 1929. The two Houses setting together, elected the first President of the Lebanese Republic, M. Charles Debbas, a Greek orthodox, on May 26, 1926. The French High Commissioner retained to himself the right "to veto and annul all the decisions of the Lebanese authorities if he holds that they Conflict with the rqeuirements of the Mandate, the country's secruity, the preservation of order or international obligations." The Arabs non-coperated with this Constitution, and Jouvenal had to carry on administration with the help of French bureaucrats. At long last, the High Commissioner became convinced that there was no way to restore peace in the land but by

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entering into a treaty with Syria and thus to terminate the Mandate. This decision he had the courage to express before the Permanent Mandates Commission, and in accordance thereto, he opened negotiations in Paris with the representatives of the Syro-Palestine Congress, Emir Shakib Arslan, Ikhsan el Jabry and Emir Michael Lutfallah. But when Jouvenal was about to find a solution, the French Government turned a *volte face*, broke off all negotiations and sternly refused to concede the Syrian demands. Jouvenal resigned and Henri Ponsot took over the charge in October, 1926.

The war of Syrian independence lasted 18 months, and then it was ended in June 1927, by the suppression of the Syrian Moslems by Franch arms. The censorship of the press, the restriction of civil liberties, frequent court martialling, etc., went on as before. The Lebanse also showed signs of unrest against the corrupt French administration and the various French methods to widen the gulf between the different communities. On 17th October, the French Government modified the Lebanse Constitution. The power of the Executive were increased ; the two Houses of Legislature were combined into one and one-third of its members were appointed by its President. In February, 1928, after the resignation of the Ministry of Ahmed Nami Bey (pro-French), and the formation of the liberal cabinet by Tajed Din, the martial laws were abolished and writs for the election of the National Constituent Assembly for Syria under the not-too-liberal communal electoral law of 1922 were issued. In the April election the nationalists came out victorious with a preponderant majority, inspite of the Government's tampering with the election.

The Syrian National Assembly accepted the Consitution drafted by its Committee on August 2, 1928. Under this Constitution Syria was to become an independent, sovereign, republican, but parliamentary state, with a unicameral legislature, which would elect the President of the Republic for five years, and to which the ministry would be responsible. Every male citizen over 20 years was to have the franchise. The Constitution declared all the Syrian territories, separted from each other since 1921, as one indivisible political unit (Art. 2). It invested the President with the right to grant amnesty, to conclude international treaties, to appoint the Prime Minister and diplomatic representatives, and to declare martial law in emergencies. It made certain provisions for the organisation of the Army. The French High Commissioner demanded the modification of the most radical sections, especially as there was no mention in the constitution about the rights of the

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Mandatory power. A tug of war ensued between the Assembly and the High Commissioner, and the latter ordered adjournment of the Assembly on August 11, 1928, for three months, and again on November 5, 1928, for three months, and lastly on February 15, 1929, for an indefinite period. On May 14, 1930, the High Commissioner dissolved the National Constituent Assembly, and on May 22, 1930, promulgated the Constitution as drafted by it, *but with the addition of a clause* in Article 116 securing the due discharge by France of her mandatory obligations in Syria until a treaty had been concluded between the two states to regulate their mutual relations. Art. 2 was also altered slightly. Instead of the expression "the acts of the partition to which they (the Syrian territories) have been subjected since the end of war, shall be ignored," a vague expression was put viz. that Syria was an indivisible political unit (see—*Brit. and For. St. Paps.* 1930, Vol. 132, p. 741).

At the same time the Constitution of the Lebanese Republic (modified on May 8, 1929, as a result whereof the powers of the President were further increased), the autonomous government of Latakia (formerly the State of Alawis), the autonomous government of Jebel-el-Druz, and the autonomous Sanjak of Alexandretta—were promulgated anew. Each of these constitutions is framed on the model of French colonial Administration. There is a Governor at the head with supreme executive and legislative powers, appointed by and responsible to the High Commissioner ; a Representative Council with mere advisory powers. In Latakia State, the Council has two-thirds elected members, but in Jebel-el-Druz, there are only nominited members [For the Lebanese Constitution—see *Brt. and for. St. Paps.*, Vol. 127 (1927) p. 831, and Vol. 130 (1929), p. 930. For the Constitution of Jebel-el-Druze—see, *Ibid*, Vol. 132 (1930), pp. 756-61]. These Seperate administrations, with their diffierent degrees of responsibility, caused permanent looseness in the internal conosolidation of all-Syria, and helped to perpetuate French domination. For all-Syrian interests, the High Commissioner decreed the existence of a "Conference for Common Interests," composed of delegates from the various governments under the Mandate, to advise him in economic and other matters affecting the several States in common.

In November 1931, Dr. Ponsot anounced the holding of elections under the new Constitution, which was actually held from December 1931 to March 30th, 1932, as there were a good deal of tampering with the elections by the government, free fighting in the streets, annulling of elections and the holding of re-elections. The Chamber ultimately consisted of 53 Moderates and 17 Nationalists. Suddenly M. Ponsot was recalled and

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M. de Martel appointed in his place. On Nobember 14, 1933, the new High Commissioner put before the President of the Republic and the Cabinent of five ministers the text of a treaty which he said was to be signed by them in forty eight hours. Though it was signed by them, yet the moment the news of its conclusion reached the public there was a tremendous agitation. The Syrian Chamber, which was a moderate body, rejected the treaty on November 21, 1933.

By this treaty, the capitulatory regime was to be continued; any number of French troops are to be stationed at any place. The military zones and the French army were to enjoy extraterritoriality. In the appointment of foreign advisers, magistrates and officials, who must be French, the French Government had an equal right to determine their quality and number as the Syrian Government. By Art. 8 The Syrian Government was to recognise and consecrate the existing partition of the country. It was to be a treaty of alliance and to remain valid for 35 years. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Syrian Chamber rejected it in 45 minutes. (For details see-George Antonius—"*Syria and the French Mandate*" in "International Affairs, July, 1934, pp. 530-534). The High Commissioner suspended the Chamber, by way of punishment.

Things continued in the same way for two and a half years. The Syrians became tired of French promises. A general unrest began to raise its head strongly again. By a decree of January 23, 1936, Count de la Martel ordered a further sub-division of Syria into eight and new independent provinces each with independent financial and administrative organisations. But this project was dropped as a result of the Syrian rising in Jan.—Feb. 1936. Criticising this projected partition Olberg writes: "The division of the country cannot be justified either on economic or administrative grounds.....Political motives dictated the division, namely the desire to weaken the power of the nation as a whole; the "States," parties, religious denominations, minorities, were played off systematically one against another in the interests of French Colonial policy" [Paul Ollberg—*France in Syria*—in The Contemporary Review March, 1937, pp. 306-307].

The Syrian rising of January 1936 started by way of closing of the markets, the boycott of foreigners, and "disorder took place at Damascus, Homs, Aleppo and Deir-ez-Zor in which sixty were killed and hundreds wounded." [*Foreign Affairs*, July, 1940—p. 695—*France and Islam*—by Charles-Andre Julién]. The Egyptian agitations of 1935, that resulted in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, stirred up the minds of the Syrians. Mr. Toynbee says that the educated elements of the town population

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played a predominant part in these agitations which were marked by discipline and order, and maintained by para-military formations, especially at Damascus and Aleppo (See—*Survey of International Affairs*, 1936, p. 753). The French failed to suppress the movement by terrorisation and on 25th February 1936, M. de Martel agreed to recognise the "legitimate aspirations of the Syrian nation." On March 1, 1936, the French Government promised to grant Syria rights equal to those accorded by Britain to Iraq. To this end, a conference was convoked by Mr. Vienot, the Under-Secretary of the French Foreign Ministry, which agreed to end the mandate in Syria. On September 3, 1936, the Syrian delegation headed by Hashem Bey el-Attassi signed a portocol with M. Vienot at Paris. This was followed by the signature of the Franco-Syrian Treaty of Freindship and Alliance, on December 22, which was ratified by the Syrian Parliament on December 26, 1936. On November 13 of the same year Lebanon signed a similar treaty with France, and ratified it on November 17, 1936. [See *The Times*, November 18, 1936, p. 13b]. The provisions of the Franco-Syrian treaty followed the model of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1939. It contained nine articles, a saparate Military Convention, and a number of minor portocols and annexes in which the details of application of the treaty were laid down. The first article stipulated that there should be perpetual friendship and alliance between France and Syria. The other articles declared that France recognised the full autonomy of Syria and undertook to support the candidature of Syria for membership of the League of Nations. In foreign affairs, Syria was to consult the French Government and not to enter into such alliances or treaties with foreign powers as would be prejudicial to France. The two parties agreed to come to each other's assistance against any aggression on Syrian territory. By the Military Convention, France reserved, without prejudice to the sovereignty of the Syrian Government, the right to maintain armed forces in the Jeb-el-Druze and in the territory of Latakia. She was also to have the right to use two aerodromes in Syria. Syria was obliged to hold her railways, roads, bridges, ports, etc., at the disposal of the French Forces and warships, in case of necessity. The Syrian Army was to be composed of one division of Infantry and one brigade of Cavalry, with necessary auxiliaries—all trained by French instructors and equipped as far as possible with arms and materials of the French pattern. The minorities in Jeb-el-Druze and Latakia were to be given "special form of administration" in conformity with the recommendations of the League of Nations. France and Syria were to give each other most-favoured nations treatment in commerce. French ambassador in Damascus was to have

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precedence over other ambassadors, while Syria would be represented in Paris by a Minister Plenipotentiary. The treaty was to last 25 years.

Though the Syrian Parliament had ratified the treaty, the French Government hesitated to do its part. The Franco-Turkish dispute over the Sanjak of Alexandretta was settled by the decision of the League of Nations, dated 16th December, 1936, by which the Sanjak was to be independent in its internal matters ; but Syria was to remain responsible for foreign affairs. Turkish was to be the official language, and the territory was to be demilitarised—a Franco-Syrian treaty guaranteeing its inviolability. But the delay of the French Government in presenting the Franco-Syrian treaty of 1936 led the Syrians to believe that France wanted to kill the Treaty. The extremist elements led by Dr. Shahbendar, chief of the "nationalist bloc," declared that a *Jihad* was necessary to compel France to honour her pledges. Under such circumstances, the Syrian Prime Minister, Jemil Mardam Bey met the French Foreign Minister, M. Bonnet, at Paris in August 1938. On November 14, they issued a joint declaration in which they expressed hope that the Syrian Parliament would ratify the treaty, not later than January 20, 1939, while the French Parliament would do the same thing not later than January 31, 1939 ; and the functions of the mandatory Power would be transferred to the Syrian Government during next February. Syria was to be admitted to the League of Nations before September 30, 1939.

No sooner had the Syrian Prime Minister returned to Damascus than M. Bonnet "under pressure of intrigues in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, declared that for the moment he would not bring the treaty before the Chamber for ratification"(Foreign Affairs—*Ibid*—p. 696). Immediately signs of unrest showed themselves in Syria. Jemil Mardam Bey resigned. Ministerial changes followed in quick succession. The High Commissioner took over the police power and in March occupied Damascus with troops. In July, 1939, he granted further autonomy to the minorites just to set them against the Syrian Moslems. To crown all, the Constitution was suspended, national leaders were arrested and thrown into prisons; and lastly, the High Commissioner declared that the country should harbour "no illusions as to the permanence of French rule in Syria." The Franco-Turkish problem with regard to Sanjak was again raising its head, and France, in order to have a peaceful neighbour to Syria, ceded Alexandretta to Turkey by an agreement of June 1939. Before the end of the year Europe was plunged into another Great War, and Syria declared war against Germany. But with the collapse of France

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in June, 1940, General Mittelhauser, in agreement with M. Puaux, the French High Commissioner, and after consultation with General Weygand, who had flown from France to Syria for that purpese, declared cessation of hostilities on June 28, 1940. The British Government, however, declared on July 1, 1940, that H. M.'s Government "could not allow Syria or Lebanon to be occupied by any hostile Power or to be used as a base for attacks upon those countries in the Middle East which they are pledged to defend or to become the scene of such disorder as to constitute a danger to those countries" [*Keesing's Archives*—p. 4125A].

The French administration in Syria is perhaps the blackest in the history of Mandate administrations. France has suspended the constitution of Syria ; suppressed political liberties of the people ; created and fostered communal troubles ; monopolised the Syrian markets quite in violation of the rights of "A" class mandate ; crushed the Syrans by heavy taxation and by increasing the expenses of the huge French Army in Syria ; has done practically nothing to promote national education, and agricultural or industrial development of the country. Out of the total population of Syria, which is 3,630,000, there are 1,514,755 Moslems, 505, 419 Christians, including 186,676 Maronites ; 227, 930 Alawis ; 86, 125 Druzes ; 151, 326 of the Othodox Church, besides several thousands of Greek Catholics, Armenians, etc. There can be no doubt that it is the land of the Arabs, who form one single nation. And Syrian nationalism is not religious or communal. As Toynbee points out, "The Syrian Nationalist Bloc also included Christian (and especially Orthodox Christian) adherents who were as whole-hearted in their nationalism as the Coptic members of the Wafd were in Egypt" [*Survey of Int. Aff.*, 1936, p. 752]. Again as George Antonius pointed out, the whole of Syria is "a remarkably compact geographical unit" [*International Affairs, Ibid*, p. 524].

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THE KHASIS

By Miss Durgabati Saikia M. A.

The origin of the Khasis is still obscure. There are of course conjectures among the Khasis regarding their primitive home, but no definite conclusions have yet been reached. Some localised them in Greece as their primitive home. According to this theory it is argued that the Khasis were a warlike tribe in Greece and they composed one of the best soldiers of Alexander in his Asiatic invasion. According to another theory, the Khasis wandered throughout the whole of Hindustan and came to Burma. There they lived for some years, how long it could not be known. But as the tradition goes, they lived there for a pretty long time, made their houses, erected monoliths and a kind of stone house made of big blocks of rocks, the roof of which was also a big block of rock where they deposited the bones of the dead after the cremation which is known in English as cromlech. Their custom is that the family deposit the bones of the dead in the same charnel house made of stones as described above. But from Burma they were also driven away—the causes were unknown, and at last came to Assam, crossing the Patkoi hills and the Kupli river, then entering the Khasi and Jaintia hills and in course of time spreading over the whole of the hills where they made their permanent home. According to the custom of the Khasis the chief of the State called "Siem" is nothing but a titular figurehead. He cannot do anything on his own initiative. It is the "Durbar" (Parliament) which manages the affairs of the state. The Durbar is composed of a body of elders. It is binding that every grown up male citizen of the state should attend the Durbar. The females are excluded from attending the Durbar or rather not allowed. It is quite possible that all citizens could attend the Durbar on account of the smallness of the Khasi States. Each state consists of only from 10 to 60 thousand inhabitants. So they are something like the city-states of Greece. The decision of the Durbar is binding on the chief. The chief is assisted in carrying on the Government of the State by a number of 'myntris' (ministers). The chief of the State and his myntris must belong to the family which is considered by the Khasi to be respectable from time immemorial. No one who does not belong to the *siem* dynasty and to the *myntri* could compete for these offices.

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But one peculiar feature of the Khasis political institution is that the siem (chief) and the myntris are elected by the public. During the election many candidates for the siemship and myntriship would compete and those ones who get the majority of votes become elected and are declared returned to the offices. These office-bearers run the government of the State. They are appointed for life and cannot be removed from their offices as long as they do not ignore the advice of the Durbar. The Durbar is all in all. The Durbar could accuse the siem and the mynitris in case of their misconduct and with the approval of the public could dismiss the siem and the myntris from their offices and appoint new ones in their stead—of course those belonging to the siem and the myntri family. The offices of the siem and the myntris are not hereditary but candidates must belong to the siem dynasty and myntri family. The Khasi political institution is therefore a strange mixture of aristocracy on the one hand and democracy on the other.

As has been said above the Khasis burn their deads and each family has its own charnel house made of blocks of stones where they deposit the bones of the dead after the cremation. The chief part that goes to compose the burning ceremony is sacrifice chiefly of cocks, goats, pigs and cows. After the man is dead the first thing they do is to sacrifice a cock, which according to their belief would lead the way of the dead man to the house of God—where there is eternal happiness. Then follows the sacrifices of goats, pigs and cows in case of a rich man, and the flesh serves for a feast to those people who take part in arranging the cremation. The goats, pigs and cows generally are not bought by the relatives of the dead but are given by those who have got affinity with them whether close or distant, and his children as as mark of respect and honour for the dead. His relatives as well as his children, friends and neighbours and the whole village would take part in the ceremony. Wine liquor is the chief factor of the ceremony.

With regard to marriage the man sends a proposal with the approval of his parents and the knowledge of his relatives to a girl he loves. If she agrees and also if her parents and her relatives consent an arrangement will be made for their union. First of all the members of the family of the man together with an elder (man) whom it is called *U Ksiang* will go to the house of a girl for betrothment. The would-be bridegroom after everything is settled will put a ring on the finger of the girl, at the same time uttering words of promise never to break the engagement. The girl would also do likewise minus the ring. And the ring is called a

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betrothal ring. When the time for marriage comes the man will go to the house of the girl, accompanied of course by his bestmen, and the girl also together with her bridesmaids will be present and the ceremony will be solemnised. The male members of the bridegroom are allowed to go to the ceremony, but the females are not allowed. Generally the ceremony would take place amidst great pomp and enjoyment. Many animals such as goats, pigs, cows fowls will be killed for the marriage feast. These two ceremonies namely the burning and the wedding ceremonies involvo a huge of expenditure.

During the time of childbirth the relatives of the girl together with her husband will be present. If a child is born to-day it will be named to-morrow. If it is a baby boy, at the time of naming him they would make a small bow with three arrows. The three arrows represent three things. The first arrow is to defend himself against his enemies. The second arrow for defending his parents and all his relatives from their enemies. The third arrow for defending the state against any invasions. When he is dead they take the bow and the three arrows will be shot towards the west to signify that all his struggles on Earth have ended. If it is a baby girl they would make a small doa, a thapa (Khoh) and a belt for carrying it. These signify that she is to do domestic duties. The doa represents her activities in cleaning the compound of the house, (fencing the garden with bamboos) and for going to the forest to cut firewoods. The thapa and the belt together represents one thing namely her going to the well, the river or the water-spout for drawing water in a pitcher or a brazen pot which has got to be carried in a thapa by means of a belt (star) according to the Khasi custom. The water is used for cooking food and for her husband in case she is a married girl to bathe or wash himself after coming home tired from his work or if she is still a young girl for her father and her brothers to wash themselves on returning back home from their works. When she dies these things would also be destroyed which means that her activities are over. For seclecting the names they fill a potwhich is made from a hollow gourd with country liquor made of rice. Then they seclect three names and would turn the month of the gourd downwards and in which name the falling drops of the wine from the gourd last long in its month, the child will be called after that name. In this process they invoke the names of the great grandmother and the great grandfather whom they believe to be their only ancestors from whom the family or caste descends to listen to their appeal and show their approval which of the names to be seclected. It is believed the name which these approve is that one in which the

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falling drops of the wine liquor from the gourd take a long time. Even in going to the charnel-house for depositing the bones of the dead, first of all before opening the door of the dharnal-house, one hired man would crow like a cock three times and after that they would invoke their great grandmother and great grandfather to come in spirit and take and embrace their own sons and daughters. This does not mean that they are ancestor worshippers, but it simply means that they regard them as the first people who are the cause of the existence of their caste and as such they are always anxious for the welfare of their descendants on earth and who are to take care of their own desendants in life after death. The Khasis worship only one God but it is through their great grandfather and mother dicties. They also believe in the existence of evil spirits such as the demons, the presiding of the forests, the fairies the elfs and many others who could do harm to them and bring sickness. But all these evil spirits cannot do anything without the sanction of their great grandmother and great grandfather.

Whenever in difficulties they consult the ancestors through an oracle which they make by the help of eggs, which they break by throwing on a flat piece of wood made. Before breaking the egg they would ask for the signs to appear on the breaking parts of the shell of an egg, which will be scattered on the flat piece of wood. When the egg is broken they would read the meaning of it by looking at the different portions of the shattered pieces of the shell of an egg. Then the man who consults the oracle will interpret the answer of the great grandfather and mother to the family. Is these do not answer at all they would continue breaking many eggs, beseeching and soliciting them through arguments in order to convence them of their ease and to get an answer from them how to take steps to do away with their trouble. They would continue in this away untill they get an answer.

The Family System: The Khasis are a matriarchal people i.e. they trace the family through a mother unlike other people who trace it through a father. If the mother is Das and father Mukherjee, the children will be known as Das not Mukherjee. Why it is like this we cannot say definitely but there is a history behind it: once the Khasis were patriarchal but at one time there was an invasion by some unknown prince or general. The Khasis fought hard but were defeated, At last when there were very few men left to fight and the country was about to be overcome, the women too with them their shields, spears, bows and arrows went to the fore front to fight the enemy. The prince

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or the general of the army seeing that the women were coming to fight felt it below the dignity to fight with the women. So he withdrew and left the country, swearing at the same time never to invade the country as it is the country of women. The men in honour of the bravery of the women gave up their patriarchal system and from that time forward the family becomes matriarchal.

There is another theory of their coming to the present hills: the Khasis came somewhere from Burma. They had a literature with them but in the course of the migration they lost it. One tradition says that when they left Burma they met with a great flood. They had no other means of escape but swimming. One man who was in charge of carrying the book by chance dropped it in the water or as some say swallowed it. From that time then the Khasis have no written literature. And many died in that flood disaster. Another reason which is believed to be the cause of the smallness of the Khasis in number is that during their long period of migration from one place to another many died from various diseases, wars and many other disasters. At last they came to these hills through the eastern sides after crossing the Patkoi hill and the Kupli river.

National games: The Khasis are lovers of games and sports. The chiefs of which are competitive arrow shooting in which the winning party gets money as a trophy. The money will be distributed equally among the members of the party. It is generally held once a week during the market days. (2) Long jump, high jump, racing etc. once a year which are also competitive. (3) Sword–playing in which two men at a time took part was an annual and competitive game. It is now no longer practised.

Dancing: It is a national recreation in which men and women take part together. There are two kinds of dance (1) in which men and women dance together each in his or her dancing dress. The women dance in the centre of the field and the men dance round them carrying and moving a turf of thread in their right hands. In ancient times this dance was held before the men went to war or after their returning back from war. At present it affears only as a pleasure dance. (2) War dance in which the men only take part. This dance in ancient times was held either at the time of going to war in which they practised the art of using and handling the shield and sword or after coming from war to celebrate the Victory. In war the Khasis used guns, spears, swords, bows and arrows and two shields one big and another small. The big shield which they carried before them was suspended on their neck and the back by means of a

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very strong cord. The spears, the swords which they used by their right hands and the small shield by which they defended themselves with their left hands were used when they came to close equarters. The guns, bows and arrows were used from a distance.

Khasi Folktales : The story of betle nuts demands special attention on account of its bearing on the Khasi Society. Once upon a time there was a rich man and a poor man, who were very intimate friends. Every time the poor man visited the house of the rich friend, that friend used to entertain him with delicious food. The rich man, as he had never visited the house of his poor friend felt very uneasy. So one day he paid a visit to his house. After talking for sometime, the poor man asked his wife to go to some shop and procure some etables on credit to entertain his friend. But his wife came back and told him that she could not get anything on credit. The poor man felt very shy and seeing a knife that was lying near him took it up and plunged it in his heart. The wife seeing this took the same knife and killed herself. The rich man was very sorry that his friend killed himself only because he had nothing to offer him. He also with that very knife killed himself. At night a thief who was passing that side, saw the door open, entered in, in the hope of stealing something. But as he felt very cold, and as there was a fire inside, he sat near it, thinking that after warming himself he would search the house and then come out. But contrary to his expectation the fire lulled him to sleep and when he got up he found that it was morning. Then he saw the three dead bodies in the house and was afraid to come out lest people might see and accuse him as a murderer. So he decided to kill himself and with that same knife ended his life. God, when he saw this thought that it would not be good for people to entertain in this manner ; so he brought up betle-nut on this earth, by which people high and low, rich and poor could afford to entertain one another. The betle leaf represents the poor man, the lime his wife which are taken together at a time the nut the rich man and the tobacco leaf the thief. All these things are taken together by the Khasi people.

The story of Heaven and Earth : According to this story, once Heaven and Earth were connected by a very big tree which we call Deingui. The hill in which this tree grew up is called Lum Diengui (Hill of Diengui tree) which is near Shillong and is quite visible from there. At that time, the story goes on to tell us, there were altogether 16 huts, 9 in Heaven and seven on Earth. God ruled over these 16 huts. As Heaven and Earth were connected by this big tree the people of these 17 huts used to come and go to Earth and Heaven. Sometimes they passed

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nights on Earth and Heaven. So they always used to come and go through this tree. But one man from that group of 17 huts did not like to be under the sovereignty of God. So he spread a rumour to the people who were on Earth that in course of time the tree would grow up and spread its branches for and wide. Then the whole world would be covered with complete darkness and a cruel monster would roam over the Earth and eat up the people. So the people on Earth became freighten- and at once went to Lum Diengui with their doa and axes to fell down the tree but as it was a big tree they could not fell it down in one day. So when night came they returned to their huts thinking to go back next day to fell it down. But on the next day they found that the tree which was cut became a complete tree again. They were very much surprised but continued their work of cutting. At night they returned to their huts. But on the morrow they found the same thing-the tree became complete again. So they began to solve the mystery but they could not till a tiny bird which we call Phreid told them that it was a tiger who came there at night to lick the cutting part of the tree and the tree became a complete one again. So the people when it was about night before going home put an axe with the edge turned up in that part of the tree. And when the tiger came there to lick it up its tongue was cut down. So it went away. And on the next day when the people came to cut it they found that it was as they left it. So they succeeded in felling down. That time forward the Heaven went up so high the tree that the people could no longer come and go as before. So the people were divided into two, namely nine huts in Heaven and seven huts on Earth. In course of time the Diengui became rotten and in the direction which it fell down we find plenty of coal in Khasi and Jaintia hills so runs the story. These seven huts were the original peoples on Earth.

Khasi and Jaintia hills at present are ruled by a number of chiefs. There are thirty semi-independent chiefs in Khasi hills and twelve Dollois in Jaintia hills. The States in Khasi hills are semi-independent Indian Native States and the Deputy Commissioner is at the same time the political agent of the States. Jaintia hills are under the direct control of the British since its annexation to the British Empire. But the British Government did not completely alter the form of government. It simply abolished the throne and give the chiefs a paltry sum as pension. The pension was abolished in 1937 as there were no more heirs to succeed. The old administration is still retained under the Dollois who enjoy some kind of concession from the British Government. The Dollis could try petty

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cases. The Deputy Commissioner is the head. But on the Khasi side the rulers enjoy much freedom as they are Native State rulers.

Marriage restrictions: According to the custom of the Khasis they are not allowed to marry among near relatives. For example a Diengdoh boy cannot marry a Diengdoh girl. If they do so when they die no burning ceremony will be performed for them and their bones will not be deposited in the charnel house of the whole family. It is also considered the greatest sin and it is believed that the thunder will strike them or the tiger and the elephant will kill them, It is also believed that the tiger and the elephant know the people who do this and if they go out for a journey with their friends the tiger or the elephont will pick those only out of the company and kill them. The Khasis put the bones of the dead in ancarthen pot then deposit it in the charnel house. But one characteristic of the Khasis is that we cannot know them apart from religion. Their political institutions economic thoughts, marriage custom, childbirth etc. cannot be cults understood apart from religion. Religion is the substance and all these are mere shadows. So if we want to have a comprehensive knowledge of the Khasis we must know their religion. The tradition regarding their coming from Greece says that the Khasis brought no women with them but intermarried with the peoples of India. The women of the defeated tribes and races in India were captured by force and married by the Khasis. This went on for many years during their period of migration before their final settlement in Khasi and Jaintia hills. So they people became mided up and lost their pure features. That is the reason why it is argued that we find *Dkhar*, *Bordoloi* family etc. in Khasi hills. Dkhar (means plain people) Bordoloi and many other non-Khasi families came to stay in Khasi hills only when the women of these families where married by the Khasis after taking them captives from war. Female relatives: his sister or mother together with her uncles and all her relatives have a right to burn the dead body. The wife and the children simply assist them. His bones are also deposited not in the charnel-house of his wife but in the charnel-house of his female relatives.

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THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION

I. IMPERIAL SPEECH ON THE PROMULGATION OF THE CONSTITUTION *

Whereas We make it the joy and glory of Our heart to behold the prosperity of Our country, and the welfare of Our subjects, We do hereby, in virtue of the supreme power We inherit from Our Imperial Ancestors, promulgate the present immutable fundamental law, for the sake of Our present subjects and their descendants.

The Imperial Founder of Our House and Our other Imperial Ancestors by the help and support of the forefathers of Our subjects, laid the foundation of Our Empire upon a basis, which is to last forever. That this brilliant achievement embellishes the annals of Our country, is due to the glorious virtues of Our Sacred Imperial Ancestors, and to the loyalty and bravery of Our subjects, their love of their country and their public spirit. Considering that Our subjects are the descendants of the loyal and good subjects of Our Imperial Ancestors, We doubt not but that Our subjects will be guided by Our views and will sympathize with all Our endeavours, and that, harmoniously co-operating together, they will share with Us Our hope of making manifest the glory of Our country both at home and abroad, and of securing forever the stability of the work bequeathed to Us Our Imperial Ancestors.

II. IMPERIAL OATH AT THE SANCTUARY OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE

We, the Successor to the prosperous Throne of Our Predecessors, do humbly and solemnly swear to the Imperial Founder of Our House

* On the 50th Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Japanese Constitution we are glad to reproduce some significant extracts from the famous "Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan" by Prince Hirobumi Ito, translated into English by Count Miyoji Ito. The copyright of the Engligh translation of the book was presented by Prince Ito to the English Law College of Tokyo and the third edition (1931) is published by the Central University (Chu-O Daigaku), Tokyo, to which institution we offer our thanks in makiag the extracts for the benefit of our Indian readers—Ed.

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and to Our other Imperial Ancestors that, in pursuance of a great policy co-extensive with the Heavens and with the Earth, We shall maintain and secure from decline the ancient form of government.

In consideration of the progressive tendency of the course of human affairs and in parallel with the advance of civilization, We deem it expedient, in order to give clearness and distinctness to the instructions bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors, to establish fundamental laws formulated into express provision of law, so that, on the one hand, Our Imperial posterity may possess an express guide for the course they are to follow, and that, on the other, Our subjects shall thereby be enabled to enjoy a wider range of the action in giving Us their support, and that the observance of Our laws shall continue to the remotest ages of time. We will thereby to give greater firmness to the stability of Our country and to promote the welfare of all the people within the boundaries of Our dominions now establish the Imperial House Law and the Constitution. These Laws come to only an exposition of grand precepts for the conduct of the government, bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by our other Imperial Ancestors. That we have been so fortunate in Our reign, in keeping with the tendency of the times, as to accomplish this work, We owe to the glorious Spirits of the Imperial Founder of Our House and of Our Imperial Ancestors.

We now reverently make Our prayer to Them and to Our Illustrious Father, and implore the help of Their Sacred Spirits, and make to Them Solemn oath never at this time nor in the future to fail to be an example to Our subjects in the observance of the Laws hereby established. May the Heavenly Spirits witness this Our solemn Oath.

III PREAMBLE

Having by virtue of the glories of Ancestors ascended the Throne of a lineal SUCCESSION unbroken forages eternal ; desiring to promote the welfare of, and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of our Ancestors ; and hoping to maintain the prosperity of the State, in concert with our people and with their support. We hereby promulgate, in pursuance of Our Imperial Rescript of the 12th day of the 10th month of the 14th year of Meiji, a fundamental law of State, to exhibit the principles by which We are to be

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guided in our conduct and to point out to what Our descendants and Our subjects and their decendants are forever to conform.

The rights of sovereignty of the State, We have inherited from Our Ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither we nor they shall in future fail to wield them, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted.

We now declare to respect and protect the security of the rights and of the property of Our people, and to secure to them the complete enjoyment of the same, within the extent of the provisions of the present Constitution and of the law. The Imperial Diet shall first be convoked for the 23rd year of Meiji, and the time of its opening shall be the date, when the present Constitution comes into force.

When in the future it may become necessary to amend any of the provisions of the present Constitution, We or Our successors shall assume the initiative right, and submit a project for the same to the Imperial Diet. The Imperial Diet shall pass its vote upon it, according to the conditions imposed by the present Constitution, and in no otherwise shall Our descendants or Our subjects be permitted to attempt any alteration thereof.

Our Ministers of State, on Our behalf, shall be held responsible for the carrying out of the present Constitution, and Our present and future subjects shall forever assume the duty of allegiance to the present Constitution.

[His Imperial Majesty's Sign-Manual]

[Privy Seal]

The 11th day of the 2nd month of the 22nd year of Meiji.

IV PREFACE

The Imperial House Law is an exposition of the instructions bequeathed by the Sacred Imperial Ancestors of Successive ages, and is intendend to be a guide to posterity for all time to come. The Constitution of the Empire of Japan is a collection of the fundamental rules of the State, and lays down clear definitions of relations that ought to mutually exist between the Sovereign and His people. These two Laws are precise and definite in their meaning; they may be compared even for brilliancy, to the heavenly luminaries. They are couched in language whose import is deep and comprehensive; indeed there is no word adequate enough to express the praise due to them. They embody profound conceptions

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and a farsighted policy, that owe their origin to the wisdom of His Imperial Majesty. I, Hirbumi, while engaged with the officials subordinate to me, in the study of these Laws have made notes of the results of our investigations, and after revision of them, I have given them the name of Commentaries. I do not intend them to be a systematic exposition of these great Laws ; they are meant only as a medium for conveying information. To another generation must be left the composition of an exhaustive elucidation of them, a task that is beyond any aspiration of mine.

The 4th month of the 22nd year of Meiji (1889).

COUNT HIROBUMI ITO.

V COMMENTARIES ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

In our country, the relations between Sovereign and subject were established at the time when the State was first founded. The unity of political powers was weakened, during the middle ages, by a succession of civil commotions. Since the Restoration (1868 A. D.), however, the Imperial power has been pleased to issue decrees proclaming the grand policy of instituting a constitutional form of government, which it is hoped will give precision to the rights and duties of subjects and gradually promote their well-being, by securing unity to the sovereign powers of the Head of the State, by opening a wider field of activity for serving (the Emperor), and by prescribing, with the assistance of the Ministers of State and the advice of the Diet, the whole mode of the working of the machinery of State in a due and proper manner. All this is in strict accordance with the spirit of the noble achievements bequeathed by the Imperial Ancestors, and all that it is proposed to do now, is to open the way for the ultimate accomplishment of the object originally entertained by the said Imperial Ancestors.

CHAPTER 1

THE EMPEROR

The Sacred Throne of Japan is inherited from Imperial Ancestors, and is to be bequeathed to posterity ; in it resides the power to reign

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over and govern the State. That express provisions concerning the sovereign power are specially mentioned in the Articles of the Constitution, in no wise implies that any newly settled opinion thereon is set forth by the Constitution ; on the contrary, the original national polity is by no means changed by it, but is more strongly confirmed than ever.

ARTICLE 1.

The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

Since the time when the first Imperial Ancestor opened it, the country has not been free from occasional checks in its prosperity nor from frequent distrubances of its tranquility ; but the splendor of the Sacred Throne transmitted through an unbroken line of one and the same dynasty has always remained as immutable as that of the heavens and of the earth. At the out set, this Article states the great principle of the Constitution of the country, and declares that the Empire of Japan shall to the end of time, identify itself with the Imperial dynasty unbroken in lineage, and that the principle has never changed in the past, and will never change in the future, even to all eternity. It has intended thus to make clear for ever the relations that shall exist between the Emperor and His subjects.

By "reigned over and governed," it is meant that the Emperor on His Throne combines in Himself the sovereignty of the State and the government of the country and of His subjects. An ancient record mentions a decree of the first Emperor in which he says :—"The country of Goodly Grain is a State, over which Our descendants shall become Sovereigns : You, Our descendants, come and govern it." He was also called "Emperor governing the country for the first time" (Hatsu-Kuni-Shirasu Sumera-mikoto). A Prince named Yamato-take-no-Mikoto said :—I am a son of the Emperor Otarashihiko Oshiro-Wake, who resides in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, and who governs the Country of Eight Great Islands. "The Emperor Mommu (697-707 A. D.) declard at the time of his succession to the Throne :—"As long as Emperors shall beget sons, We shall, each in His Succession, govern the Country of Eight Great Islands." The same Emperor also said :---"We shall reduce the Realm to tranquility and bestow Our loving care upon Our beloved subjects." Such in brief has been the principle, by which the Emperors of every age have been guided on succeeding to the Throne. Latterly, the phrase "the Emperor reigning over and governing

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the Country of Eight Great Islands" (Oyashima-shi-roshimesu Sumera-mikoto) came to be used as a regular formula in Imperial Rescripts. The word shi-roshimesu means reigning over and governing. It will thus be seen that the Imperial Ancestors regarded their Heaven-bestowed duties with great reverence. They have shown that the purpose of a monarchical government is to reign over the country and govern the people, and not to minister to the private wants of individuals or of families. Such is the fundamental basis of the present Constitution.

According to ancient documents, the dominions of our Empire, which went by the name of Oyashima, was composed of Awaji-shima (the present one), of Akitsushima, (the main island), of Futanashima in Iyo (Shikoku), of the 1sland of Tsukushi (Kyushu), of the Island of Iki (the present Tushima), of the Island of Oki and of the Island of Sado. The Emperor Keiko (71-130 A. D.) subjugated the tribe of Ezo in the East, and in the West he subdued that of Kumaso, and the territory under him was brought to a state of tranquility. In the reign of the Empiror Suiko (593-628 A. D.), there were over a hundred and eighty Kunitsuko (Governors of Provinces), and subsequently in the Code of Engi, the division of the country into sixty six Provinces and two islands is mentioned. In the first year of Meiji (1868 A. D.), the two Provinces of Mutsu and Dewa together were subdivided into seven Provinces, and in the second year (1869 A. D.), eleven Provinces were established in the Hokkaido. The number of Provinces in the whole country was thus increased to eighty four. The present dominions consist of the Hokkaido the various islands, of the Okinawa and of the Ogasawara groups, in addition to what was formerly designated by the name of Oyashima or to the sixty-six Provinces and islands mentioned in the Code of Engi. Territory and a people are the two elements out of which a State is constituted. A definite organic laws are found in operation .A State is like an individual and its territories, resembling the limbs and parts of an individual, constitute an integral realm.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

26th CENTENARY OF THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

The year 1940 is memorable to the Japanese people in many ways and specially because it synchronizes with the celebration of the 26th Centenary of the Imperial House of Japan. The Japanese Government and the nation arranged a series of celebrations opening with the month of February and terminating with the month of November. On the 11th of February, 1940 they celebrated the accession of the first Empire Jimmu Tenno at the Kashihara Shrine which marks the historical sites associated with the memory of the first Emperor of the Land of the Rising Sun.

There was a special ceremony at the Imperial Palace where H. I. M. Emperor Hirohito read and address to the nation.

Actual completion of the 26th Centenary fell on the 31st August, 1940 and the grand celebration was properly conducted. Finally on the 11th November, 1940 there was a clossal public celebration with the military and naval reviews and cremonial dances before the Emperor and the Empress.

The final programe of this nationwide celebration comprises different items which for their completion may take some years : The nation voted 4 million yen towards the extension of the hisioric Kashihara Shrine and Myazaki Shrine and also towards the preservation of the historical spots and relics connected with the Emperor Jimmu. The aproach of the Imperial Mausoleum will be improved. On the site of the former Diet building a grand historical museum *Kokushikan* will be constructed with over 3 million yen. One million yen was voted for the publication of "The Outline of the Japanese Civilization" to show the world the real sprit of Japanese culture with the hope that it may serve in the promotion of racial culture. In the outer garden of the Tokyo Imperial Palace a Plazza will be constructed accomodating 100,000 people costing two and half million yen.

Osaka, the commercial captial of Japan, is completing at the expense of 5½ million yen an Industrial Samples Fair Hall, an imposing seven-storied building. Nara, the religious captail of Japan will build a grand Hall of National History. Kyoto, the former capital, is completing its highly interesting municipal history.

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Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (Society for International Cultural Relations) and Nippon Bunka Chuo Remmei (Central League for the promotion of Japanese Culture) are arranging brilliant programmes illustrating various aspects of Japanese cultural life, drama, dancing, music, films, sports etc. All these aspire to present to the world the best specimens of Japanese culture and the development of the new Japanese civilization.

Lastly we note that the K. B. S. are sponsoring the 26th Centennial Annual Eassy Contest on the subject of Japanese Culture and its Relations with Foreign culture which has been widely circulated through the press of all important countries.

Ther is another project of more specialized nature. The K. B. S. is plannig to publish a Commemoration Volume on Japanese Culture with articles contributed by a limited number of eminent scholars and interpreters of Japan living abroad. They are invited to submit their papers in English, French and German and these will be translated into Japanese and be published separately for the benefit of the Japanese public.

POSITIVE ON FACTS NEW JAPAN

In this historical year we specially welcome an admirable publication, the Japan Year Book (1939-40) published by the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan. It includes in separate envelope a map of Japan and Manchuokuo. It gives a valuable appendix of over 100 pages in which many will be specially interested in these days, namely, a full list of Emperors from Jimmu Tenno (660-581 B. C.) to Great Emperor Meiji (1867-1912), Emperor Taisho (1912-1926) and the present Emperor Tenno Showa. We find also the Imperial House Laws ; the Constitution ; the list of important clubs and societies ; list of standard works on Japan ; the Customs Tariff Laws amended and revised : financial, political, commercial and cultural matters ; treaties and aggreements between Japan and Russia (1905), Japan and U. S. A (1911), Japan and Britain (1911), Japan and Germany (1911), Japan and U. S. S. R. (1925), Jappn and India (1934), Japan and Siam (1937), Germany, Italy and Japan (1938-39).

We find also some of the events in China and Manchukuo, in Korea, Formosa, Shaghalien and in the South Sea Islands, So far as Japan is concerned nearly 1000 closely printed pages are devoted to an encyclopaedic survey of various aspects of Japanese national life and activity, from public finance and banking to party politics and foreign relations, and from education and social work to medicine, sanitation, sports and amusements. The introductory pages on the outline of Japanese history, geography, government etc. are highly authoritative.

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NEW ASIA

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